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THE  
BRITISH SAILOR'S  
DISCOVERY;  
OR THE  
SPANISH PRETENSIONS  
CONFUTED.

1739

THE  
FISH SAILORS

DISCOVERY



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**BRITISH SAILOR'S**  
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CONTAINING

A short HISTORY of the Discoveries and Conquests of *Spain* in *America*, with a particular Account of the illegal and unchristian Means they made Use of to establish their Settlements there: Proving that the sovereign sole Dominion, claimed by the Crown of *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, is founded upon an unjustifiable Possession; whilst the Rights and Possessions of the *British* Subjects in those Parts are both agreeable to the Law of Nations, and Principles of Christianity. That *America* was discovered and planted by the antient *Britons* 300 Years before *Columbus* conducted the *Spaniards* thither; with the Causes of their After-hatred to the *English*: And several very remarkable Instances of their Treachery and Cruelty towards us, in order to discourage and obstruct our farther Discoveries and Settlements.

To which is added,

An exact Account of the Number of Ships, Men, &c. employed in the grand intended Invasion in 1588.

ALSO

The Declaration of War against *Spain* by OLIVER CROMWELL, in 1655, translated from the *Latin* Original; wherein the *English* Right to the *West-Indies* is plainly demonstrated, and the Insults, Murders, and Depredations are particularly specified, which were committed by the *Spaniards*, and to revenge which that War was declared.

The whole concluding with Reflections on their former and late Conduct, and plain Reasons why a Certainty of Peace is not to be relied on from that Nation, any longer than they are kept in Awe by the Maritime Forces of *Great-Britain*.

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*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem*  
*Testa diu.*——

HORAT.

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L O N D O N:

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THE  
BRITISH SAILOR'S  
DISCOVERY:  
OR THE  
SPANISH PRETENSIONS  
CONFUTED.

**W**HEN the Rights of sovereign Princes come to be called in question, the *Foundations* of their *Claims* and *Titles* must necessarily be first considered; and that, without Regard to such *Right* as may be pretended to be established upon that Footing, which, by some is accounted an indisputable *Right*; that is, *Actual Possession*: because, among Princes, a Right, by Possession only, is such as is most subject to be disputed, when that Possession is founded upon, what is called, a Right by *Conquest*; which in some Cases being *justifiable*, and in others *not*, I shall therefore distinguish between the one and the other, as it is that Kind of Right which here seems properly to come under Consideration. And, *First*, As to *Conquests* which are *justifiable*.

Sovereign  
Rights of  
Conquest distinguished.

When two Princes have declared War against each other, it becomes their mutual Interests, as it is their constant and known Practice, to attack, and dispossess one another by Force of Arms, of their respective Towns and Territories; and, according to the general Rules of War

Conquests  
how justifiable.

among all Nations in the World, to keep *Possession* of such Conquests, as their own *lawful* Right, unless otherwise agreed on by a Conclusion of *Peace*.

Conquests  
which are  
not justifi-  
able.

*Secondly*, As to Conquests which are not *justifiable*.

Should any *Prince* invade, and possess himself of the remote Dominions of *another*, who had neither given, nor was capable of giving him any Offence; and against whose Person, Territories, or Subjects, he had no Manner of Claim or Pretensions; but purely because of the Invader's *superior* Force, and military Skill; and taking Advantage of the other's Weakness, or Ignorance in Arms; and *coveting* the Wealth of his Kingdoms, as King *Ahab* did *Naboth's* Vineyard; or, should any Prince, under Colour of Amity; or, of establishing mutual Commerce; or, of aiding another Prince against his Enemies; or, under any other peaceable Pretence whatever, obtain a free Admission and Reception into another's Territories; and afterwards, without lawful Cause, turn his Arms against him, and dispossess him of his Dominions: Such Kind of *Possession* cannot be justifiable in the Eyes of God or Man. Neither can a Course of *Succession* thereto, founded upon *that* alone, by way of *hereditary* Right, establish what may be called, an indisputable Right in the *immediate* Possessor; for this Reason: That the *Acquisition* being originally unjust, consequently the Possession must at all Times be so; and I take it, that the longer it is with-held from the lawful Proprietor, the greater is the *Iniquity* before God, as the *Injury* is the greater to the Owner; (for, in this Case, I have no Regard to the Laws for Limitation of Claims between *private Persons*) so that, instead of such Acts of Possession obtaining *Sanction* from a long Series of Time, it seems rather to be a greater *Aggravation* of the Crime, and to require being the more frequent called in question, by so much the longer it is continued; especially, if a *Prince*, under those Circumstances, pretends to dispute the *Right* of another Prince, which is founded upon Acts, conformable to the Law of Nations, and Principles of Christianity.

No Posses-  
sion justifi-  
able that is  
grounded on  
an unjust  
Acquisition.

Spain's Pre-  
tensions vain  
and bound-  
less.

The *vain* and *boundless* Pretensions of *Spain* to that great Continent of *America*, whose northern Limits are yet unknown, and some of whose vast inland Tracts of the southern Parts have never been visited by any *European*, cannot but be surprizing to all those who know upon what Footing her Pretensions are grounded; especially, when she takes upon herself to question the *lawful* Rights and Possessions

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Possession of the *British* Nation in that Part of the World; and by an arbitrary, and unwarrantable Authority, pretends to set Limits and Boundaries in the greatest of *Oceans*, whereby to exclude all others from sailing past the same. It therefore behoves every *Englishman* to be acquainted with a true *State* of those extraordinary Pretensions, and of the *Right* of the Crown of *Great Britain* in *America*.

In so doing, there must necessarily be a Retrospection to the Manner of the first *Discovery* of that new World; since, therefrom the *Spaniards* commence this their pretended *sole* Right to that Sea and Land. Tho' that Subject must be pursued so far as to the Reduction of *Mexico*, in order to lay open the unjustifiable Practices made Use of by the *Spaniards* to obtain the Possession of that Country; and by comparing therewith the Discoveries made, and the Possessions obtained, by the Subjects of *England* in those Parts, to demonstrate the Iniquity of the former, and the Equity of the latter; yet, a Repetition of what has been already published in History, must not be looked upon as superfluous; because, without it, there can be no Connection of the Matter intended; neither can the weak Foundation of the *Spanish* Pretensions be otherwise exposed, nor the *English* Rights properly justified. It is absolutely necessary to have Recourse to those Histories, for this further Reason: That as the Authors of them were all *Spaniards*, the Evidence will therefore be the stronger against that Nation, as being of their own producing; and from which it will appear, that the so much boasted *Right* of *Spain*, here taken notice of, is founded upon a *Possession* obtained by unjust *Conquests*, which were attended with most execrable *Murders*, *Cruelties*, *Devastations*, and other Acts of *Inhumanity*, unbecoming one fellow Creature to act towards another; much less for those who professed Christianity.

It is true indeed, the Conquests made by the Children of *Israel* over the *Canaanites*, &c. were by the express Command of God, in order to punish the latter for their Idolatry, and other Wickednesses; but we see, nevertheless, that tho' the *Israelites* were for that Time made the Instruments of his Wrath; yet such their Services became no permanent Protection to themselves for the Time to come; but, on the contrary, turned to their own Destruction in the End; when, through the Fulness of their Enjoyments in that blessed Land of Promise, which was

Introduction  
towards a  
Review of  
the Discovery  
by *Columbus*.

Conquerors  
sometimes  
the Rods of  
Divine Vengeance.

given to them as the Fruits of their Labour, they became wanton, and disobedient against their Almighty Deliverer, who had transplanted them from the House of Bondage in *Egypt*, to the fertile Plains of *Arabia*; so that, in effect, they were made the same Account of, as is a Rod, which, after chastizing a Child, is thrown into the Fire and burnt.

The *Spaniards* had no Divine Call to commit Murders, &c.

It never yet appeared that the *Spaniards* could pretend to have had any Divine Inspiration, or Command; nor had they any lawful Call to go and extirpate that great Nation of People in *America*; nor was it consistent with the Rules of Honour, much less of Christianity, to attack and murder such poor, naked, defenceless Creatures, as the *Indians* were; and to rob them of their Wives, and their Goods into the Bargain: a Practice which to this Day, seems to be too nearly followed, when, and where-soever they can prevail over any one of a different Nation, especially the *English*, against whom they have all along preserved an irreconcilable Animosity, as shall presently appear, from the many Instances of their Cruelty towards them. But, first, let this Priority of Right, which *they* pretend to have to the Possession of all *America* before any other *Europeans*, be inspected, and considered, from the Time of the first Discovery of that Part of the World by *Christopher Columbus*, commonly called *Columbus*, to whom *Spain* is indebted for her first Footing there. The historical Account of which is briefly as follows.

Who *Columbus* was,

This *Columbus* was a Native of *Genoa*; and, according to the Practice of those Times, was reputed a very skilful Mariner; and besides, was very studious in Geography; and, as it appeared afterwards, entertained a very just Notion of the Being of a western Continent, against which he could never be persuaded.

Providence seems to have destined him to be the Instrument for enriching *Spain* with that new Acquisition; as may reasonably be conjectured from the following Accident, which put *Columbus* upon the immediate Search for that Land.

An Accident which confirmed *Columbus* in his Notions of a western Continent.

It happened that a Master of a Ship lodged in *Columbus's* House, who had returned from Sea very much indisposed and enfeebled, by the Miseries he had endured in a violent Storm, which had drove his Ship so far to the Westward, as to put him altogether out of his Knowledge; at the same Time, giving him a Sight of a strange Coast, of which he had no manner of Notion before; and having,

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with great Difficulty, escaped Shipwreck, and returned home, after losing almost all his Sailors, he went to lodge in *Columbus's* House, where at last he died of the 'fore-mentioned Illness, and bequeathed all his Charts and Journals to his Landlord *Columbus*; who from thence being farther confirmed in his former Opinion, touching that new westerly World, he resolved, from that Moment, to proceed in the Enterprize of finding it. History, it seems, is silent as to this Master's Name, &c. which may be presumed to be a wilful Omission in Favour of *Columbus*, and of the *Spanish* Interest, that Posterity may not have it in their Power to mention the Name of any other *European* beside *Columbus*, who had a prior View of *America*. But I shall not only exhibit the Name of an honourable *BRITON*, who long before had settled a Colony in that Part of the World; but prove, by the Testimony \* of the *Spaniards* themselves, the Probability of the Truth of this Assertion. But to return to *Columbus*.

He, as I said before, being resolved to prosecute his intended Discovery; and, as is the Case of a great many ingenious Men, not being of Ability in himself to put his Designs in Execution, without proper Assistance, and Encouragement; he first of all, in Duty to his Country, proposed the Matter to the *Genoese*. But they, far from giving Credit to what he urged, rejected his offer with the utmost Contempt, behaving towards him with that insatuated Disregard, which is too common in the World among all Ranks of People; to entertain a mean Opinion of the Capacity of a Person who is a Native of their own Country, unless he happens to be what is called, a Man of Fortune, and conspicuous for that, or for some superficial Figure he makes in the World; without which, few or no Schemes or Projects carry any Weight, which come from the Hands of him, who happens to be so unfortunate, as to want one or the other of the foregoing necessary Qualifications; as if Wealth was the Fountain of Wisdom, or that a rich Dress inspired a Man with Knowledge. Thus did they ridicule poor *Columbus*; and not content with turning their Backs upon him alone, they abused his whole Family into the Bargain, and seemed scandalized at the Presumption of a *Fisherman's* Son, as they said he was, to pretend to know more of the World, than any of their Senators.

*Columbus,*

*Columbus's*  
Proposal to  
the *Genoese*  
about *America*.

Rejected,  
and why.

\* Ant. de Herrera's Decades. See *Moteguma's* Speech to his Subjects.

He applies to  
the King of  
*Portugal*,

But without  
Success.

He sends his  
Brother to  
*England*, in  
1488.

Taken by  
Pirates by  
the Way,  
and delayed.

Arrives at  
*London*.

The Cause  
why *En-  
gland* was  
not before-  
hand with  
*Spain*.

*Columbus*, no Way discouraged by his Countrymens ill Treatment of him, applied to the Court of *Portugal*; but tho' that Nation then bore the Sway of being the most expert Navigators, yet they had the same contemptuous Opinion of *Columbus*, and of his Project, as the *Genoese* had, and refused to hearken to him to purpose, being foolishly led away with the like Notions of him; some reviling his Person, and Manner of Address, whilst others endeavoured to search out his Pedigree, in Hopes to find a Blot in his *Escutcheon*.

Hereupon, in the Year 1488, he gives his Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus*, Instructions \* to go directly to *England*, to solicit King *Henry VII*, to the same Purpose as he did the King of *Portugal*; who, setting out accordingly, was unfortunately taken Prisoner on the Sea, by some *Pirates*, who stripped him of his very Cloaths, and every Thing else that he had in the Ship; by which, and a violent Sickness, being reduced to great Necessity, he laboured under those Misfortunes for a considerable Time, in that Country wherein he was a Stranger, until, at last, by his Industry in making Globes, and Sea-Charts, wherein he was pretty expert, he retrieved himself so as to be able to appear at the *English* Court, where he laid his Brother's Affair before the King, who joyfully embraced the Offer, and gave Orders for sending immediately for *Christopher Columbus*. But the Misfortune which attended *Bartholomew* in his Voyage to *England*, was no less unfortunate to that Kingdom likewise; for that, so much Time had been spent, after the Departure of *Bartholomew* from *Portugal* to *England*, without any Account being received by *Christopher* of what became of his Brother *Bartholomew*; that *Christopher* grew impatient of the Delay, as fearing, not without Cause, that perhaps some Person or other of Penetration, either at *Genoa*, or *Lisbon*, might take a Thought of putting his Scheme in Practice, and so deprive him of the Honour, and Benefit of the Discovery: since, through the Pains he had taken to persuade his unbelieving Countrymen, and the King of *Portugal*, to give Credit to what he had advanced, in Relation to that unknown Part of the Globe, he, in all likelihood, had unwarily laid open the whole Secret, with that sanguine Positiveness, peculiar to Persons, who, knowing the Veracity of their Assertion, are apt to grow too warm, and

\* History of *Ferdinando Columbus*, another Brother of *Christopher's*.



and unguarded in their Expressions, against the obstinate Incredulity of those, who will submit to nothing but mere Demonstration, in Matters which their weak Capacities cannot otherwise comprehend; and which, undoubtedly, is with some a refined Piece of Policy, to work up a Man's Passion by unreasonable Contradictions, in hopes to ferment the Secret out of his Brain; or otherwise, by pretended Offers of doing him Service, in Case, say they, the Execution of the *Scheme* be practicable, they put a Man under an indispensable Necessity of letting them into the whole Affair, not only in Hopes of their Patronage, and Assistance, but for fear of disabling them by a Refusal: And thus it happens, that few *Projectors* enjoy the Fruits of their Study or Labour; whilst some Court-Favourite or other, not only insinuates a Reputation of being the *Projector*, but very often obtains the Reward also, and leaves the deluded Author to join in *Chorus* with the Poets, *Sic vos non vobis, &c.* These Considerations, I say, probably made *Christopher* propose it to King *Ferdinando* of *Castile*, without waiting for his Brother *Bartholomew's* Return from his *English* Expedition; and no sooner was his Proposal made, than it was received with Gladness by that King, who immediately gave Orders for fitting him out for this new Voyage; which, tho' it seemed to be, as it really was, a hazardous Undertaking on the Part of those who actually embarked in it; yet, such were the low Circumstances to which the Kingdom of *Spain* was then reduced, that the Hopes of this new Acquisition prevailed with King *Ferdinando* to risk the Loss of his Ships and Men, &c. upon the Chance of thus retrieving his Affairs, should they return, as they afterwards did, with Success.

Reflections  
on the Mis-  
carriages of  
Projects.

C. Columbus  
proposes his  
Discovery to  
Spain.

It is accept-  
ed.

Accordingly, on the fourth of *August* 1492, *Christopher Columbus* sailed from *Cadiz* with two *Ships*, and a *Pinnace*, having on Board 120 Soldiers, besides the Seamen; and in his Way having made the *Canary Islands*, he, in thirty-four Days, had sight of the *Island* of *Cuba*, and having rough Weather, he kept off from the Shore, but at last put in to the *Island* of *Hispaniola*, where his best *Ship* run aground.

He sails in  
1492.

Lands in  
*Hispaniola*.

The King of that *Island*, *Guaccanarillo*, and his Subjects, received them with all Marks of Hospitality; and not only assisted the *Spaniards* in saving what they could out of the Wreck of their *Ship*, but likewise permitted them to build a Lodge on the Shore, to shelter them against the

Is kindly re-  
ceived by the  
*Indians*.

Heat

An ungrate-  
ful Return,  
and unjust  
Possession.

Heat of the Weather, which, to these new Comers, was very uneasy; and also furnished them with Victuals, and every Thing the Place afforded for Refreshment. This kind Reception from a *Savage* People, seemingly more so from their Want of Clothing, rather than any Thing else, gave the *designing Spaniards* an Opportunity of erecting a *Fort* there, under Colour of taking *Possession* in the Name of the King of *Spain*: And, after providing themselves with some *Gold*, *Fruits*, and other Things of the Produce of that Country, to carry home as a Testimony of their having been there, they left thirty-eight *Spaniards* in the *Fort*, and returned to *Old Spain*, to the no small Joy of that Court.

The Histories of that Discovery \* tell us, how greatly the *Spaniards* aggrandized the King of *Spain* to those *Indians*, and how tractable the latter were in understanding what was said to them concerning Religion, and otherwise; for that we are told, that when *Hernan Cortez* first went to the *Island* of *Cozumel*, which was in *February*, 1519, as shall be related in it's Place, there was an *Idol* there of the same Name, which was had in great Veneration, not only by the *Islanders* themselves, but by the Inhabitants of several Provinces on the Continent; a great Number of whom then happened to be assembled in that *Idol's* Temple, where their *Priest* seemed to be earnestly engaged in preaching to them; which was to be understood of him by his Tone, and Gestures. That the *Cazique* † of that *Island* being then with *Cortez*, this last, after interrupting the *Priest*, told the *Cazique*, that, in order to preserve the Peace, and Friendship, agreed on betwixt them, it was essential for him to renounce the *Worship* of his *Idol*; and, by his Example, to influence his Subjects to do the like: After this, taking the *Cazique* aside, with his *Interpreter*, he convinced him so thoroughly of the Error of his own, and the Truth of the Christian Religion, that the *Indian* was confounded; and, not caring to take upon himself the Defence of his Cause in that particular, said he would communicate the Matter to the *Priests*, who were fully authorized by him to determine finally in religious Affairs; of which, when the *Priests* were apprized, they came before *Cortez*, making hideous Outcries, which the *Interpreter* explained to be Protestations of immediate Vengeance from Heaven, to be denounced

\* Franc. Lopez, de Gomara. Herera's Decades. Antonio de Solis, &c.

† A petty King, or Governour.

denounced against such as should dare attempt any Thing of that Kind: Upon which *Cortez* seeming much displeased; his *Soldiers* instantly took the Hint, attacked the *Idol*, and broke it and the Altar in Pieces, together with several little *Idols* besides; which Action extremely astonished the *Indians*, who expected immediately to see the Effects of the threaten'd Vengeance fall upon the Heads of the *Spaniards*. But when they perceived no Alteration in the Face of the Heavens, they began to despise such suffering *Gods*, and had them in as great Contempt then, as they were in Esteem with them before. All the rest of the Temples in the *Island* suffered the same Fate; but in the chief of them the *Spaniards* built an Altar, and placed on it the Image of the *Virgin Mary*, and set up a large Cross at the entrance of it; and next Day *Mass* was celebrated at that Altar, where the aforesaid *Cazique*, with his *Indians*, assisted in devout Silence. The Stay which *Cortez* made in this *Island*, was only eight Days; and since so great a Progress was made in so short a Time, in converting so great a Number of Souls, and with so little Difficulty too, it is lamentable that the same Industry was not used elsewhere, in all that *General's* Progress. Thus it was industriously given out, that the *Salvation* of Souls was the principal Motive of this *Enterprize*; and how sincerely soever it might have been intended by some at home, yet, it is plain, that those Abuses were committed abroad; and what makes the Guilt the more general is, because no mention has been made of any one's being ever called to an Account for them.

A very sudden Conversion.

But however the *Indians* might be inspired by Providence with natural Notions of a supreme Being, it is very much to be questioned, how they could be so soon made sensible of the *Grandeur* of the *King* of *Spain*, and of their Duty of Obedience to him, though he was represented to them as the most powerful Prince upon Earth; an *Imposture*, which the *Spaniards* have no Reason to boast of, if upon that alone it was, as it really seems to be, that they place the *Merit* of getting the *Indians* under their Subjection: For if so, it was not as being King of *Spain*, that they submitted to him, but as being the greatest *Monarch* in the World; which King *Ferdinand* was so far from being, that, at that Time, he was only stiled King of *Castile*.

A great Absurdity,

And Falshood,

False Inducements for the Submission of the *Indians* to the *Spaniards*,

I mention this, only to shew, that their first setting out was far from carrying with it the Face of Truth, and

C

Probity,

Coveteous-  
ness the true  
Motive of  
the Con-  
quest.

Probity, in their Practices; or a Design to propagate the Gospel, as they since pretended; but, on the contrary, it will appear presently, that an *insatiable* Thirst after *Riches*, was the *sole* Cause and *Motive* of that Undertaking; as the *Fear* of losing any Part of it, has ever since been the Foundation of that raging *Jealousy*, which *Spain* entertains against all other People, who are superior or equal to her in naval Strength.

Columbus's  
second  
Voyage to  
America, in  
1493.

As *Columbus* had now given full Proofs of the Reality of that, which before was doubted of by most People; so nothing was wanting on the Part of King *Ferdinand*, to endeavour the completing of that Discovery; to which Purpose, on the second of *September* 1493, *Columbus* sailed a second Time, with a Fleet of seventeen *Ships* under his Command, having on Board a sufficient Number of *Soldiers* to carry on the *Conquest* of *Hispaniola*; and a great many Families, with proper Materials for Husbandry, and otherwise, to *establish* a *Settlement* there. And having in twenty-one Days after his Departure, fallen in with the *Island* *Dominica*, one of the *Caribbee* *Islands*, he coasted along some others of them, and, at last, arrived at *Hispaniola*, where he hoped to find his Men in good Health, whom he had left there in his former Voyage; but, to his great Concern, found the *Fort* quite demolished, and learned, that the thirty-eight *Spaniards* had been killed by the *Natives*, who were justly provoked at the insupportable Behaviour, and Insolencies of the *Spaniards*; who were guilty of the most *inhuman* Acts of Violence towards them, by torturing the Men, in order to extort a Confession of the Gold Mines, which they supposed to be in that Island, murdering those with whom they found any Gold, if they refused it to them; and forcing from them their Wives and Daughters, to satisfy their lustful Desires. Such were their Practices, and such their just Punishment that ensued.

All Conduct  
of the thir-  
ty-eight  
*Spaniards*  
left in *His-  
paniola* just-  
ly recom-  
pensed.

*Bartholo-  
mew Colum-  
bus* returns  
from *En-  
gland* to  
*Spain*,

Goes to his  
Brother  
*Christopher*.

In the mean while *Bartholomew Columbus*, having about this Time returned from *England* into *Spain*, and finding that his Brother *Christopher* had already done the Work by the Assistance of the King of *Castile*, whereby the *Engagements* he had entered into with the King of *England*, were then become ineffectual, he followed his Brother *Christopher* to *Hispaniola*, by order of the Court, where he joined him in carrying on the further Enterprizes he was charged with, *Christopher* being at that Time returned to *Hispaniola* from the Discovery of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*.

King



King Henry VII being thus disappointed of the Fruits of Columbus's Discovery, resolved, nevertheless, to employ some other Persons in the like Service; and for that End pitched upon *John Cabot*, a *Venetian Merchant*, who, with his three Sons, *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancius*, were come to settle in *London*; the same *Cabot* having the Reputation of being a skilful Navigator, and one who could make *Globes*, *Maps*, and *Charts*, in which likewise he instructed his Sons; to whom, jointly with the Father, the King granted *Letters Patent*, dated the fifth of *March* 1495, being the eleventh Year of his Reign, empowering them, and their Heirs, and Deputies, to sail with five *Ships* of any Burthen, to make *Discoveries* of unknown Lands, possessed by Heathens or Infidels, and as yet not known to Christians; and to get the Possession of them under his Title and Jurisdiction, and so to hold and enjoy such Lands, &c. to themselves, reserving a fifth Part of the Profits thereof to the Crown; as may be seen more fully in the Records of the Rolls.

King Henry VII grants a Patent to Cabot and his three Sons to make Discoveries.

Does not empower them to use Violence, &c.

By Virtue of this Patent *John Cabot*, and his Son *Sebastian*, set out from *Bristol*, and discovered the *Island* of *Newfoundland*, from whence they brought home three of the *Natives*, and named a *Port* there *Sancius Haven*. After *John Cabot's* Death, *Sebastian* set out with two *Ships* at the King's Charges, in the Year 1496, with which he sailed to 58 *Degrees* of North Latitude, on the Coast of *North America*; and from thence coasted it all the Way to the Southward, as far as *Florida*, where his Provisions falling short, he returned to *England*, where the Commotions between the *English* and the *Scotch* being then very great, the further Prosecution of his *Discoveries* was postponed for that Time; but the King (*Edward VI*) by his Guardian the Duke of *Somerset*, rewarded him with a Pension of 166 *£*. 13 *s*. 4 *d*. per Annum, for his Life; as appears by the Grant for that Purpose, dated the sixth of *January* 1549, in the second Year of that King's Reign; which was a Pension counted very great in those Days; and must not therefore these Services be deemed very signal, when so great a Pension was granted in recompense thereof?

*Newfoundland* discovered in 1495.

Continent of *North America* discovered in 1496, and to *Florida*.

Pension granted to *Sebastian Cabot*.

These Discoveries of *Cabot's* are attested by *Ramusius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, and others.

*Cabot's* further Discoveries, in Behalf of the Crown of *England*, being interrupted by Means of the Misunderstanding between the *English* and the *Scotch*, he went to *Spain*,

*Sebastian Cabot* goes to *Spain*.

Discovers  
Brasil.

Cruelty of  
the Spaniards at  
Florida.

Cortez lands  
with a Fleet  
in Cozumel,  
in 1519.

The prior  
Right of the  
English to  
America.

History of a  
Welsh  
Prince settling in  
America, in  
1170.

Spain, where he was highly carested, in order to prevent his engaging with any other Court; and was made *Pilot Major of Spain*, and was sent out to discover the Coasts of *Brasil*, which he performed, and entered above six score Leagues into the *River* called *Rio de la Plata*, which signifies, the *River of Silver*.

After this *Ferdinando Sottus* sailed from *Spain*, and landed five hundred Men on the Coast of *Florida*, where he committed such *Cruelties* as are shocking to hear; for besides the vast Number of what we may call the common Sort of People, which he massacred, he caused the Hands of fifteen of their *Chiefs*, or *Princes*, to be cut off, because they would not discover to him where they had their Gold from.

In the Year 1519, *Ferdinando Cortez* set sail from *Spain*, with a Fleet of thirteen Ships, and landed in the *Island of Cozumel*, on the east Side of that Part of the Continent called *Yucatan*, from which *Island* the *Spaniards* invaded the Continent, and established a sure Footing at *La Vera Cruz*, in that Part now called *New Spain*, with a small Part of *Darien*, and the *Islands of St Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica*, as shall be hereafter taken Notice of.

Thus I have shewn the Time and Manner of the *Spaniards* first Settlement in the *West-Indies*, which, though somewhat prior to what I have mentioned of that Discovery of the Coast of *New America*, from *Newfoundland* to *Florida* by *Cabot*, in Behalf of the *English*; yet I shall not yield the Precedence to *Spain* on that Account, because it appears, that the *English* were long before settled in that Part of the World; and though all Correspondence between the first Planters and their Countrymen, and between the Descendants of both, happened to cease, or be interrupted through some Misfortune or other, for so long a Space of Time as three hundred Years; yet the Right of Possession seems more strongly to exist in the *English* Nation, if Priority of Settlement be made the Standard of that Right, which is recorded in *Dr Powell's History of Wales* to this Effect.

“ *Owen Guyneth*, who was Prince of *North Wales*, being dead, left three legitimate Sons, viz. *Edward*, or *Jorwerth Drwydion*, *David*, and *Maddock*, also a base Son named *Howell*. The eldest Son, *Edward*, whose Right it was to rule, was laid aside on Account of some Blemish in his Face; therefore, *Howell* had the Presump-

tion

tion to take the Government upon himself; upon which *David*, the second Son, raised all the Forces he could against him, and slew him in Battle, and thenceforth quietly enjoyed the Government, until his Nephew, the Son of *Edward*, came of Age. In the mean Time, the youngest Brother, *Maddock ap Owen Gwyneth*, resolving to get out of Harm's way, provided himself with *Ships* and *Men*, and about the Year 1170, set sail from *Wales*, and leaving the Coast of *Ireland* far North, kept a westerly Course until he arrived at a strange Land; where leaving most of his People, he returned back to *Wales*; and upbraiding his Kinsmen and Countrymen with their Folly, in quarrelling about the wild and barren Lands of *Wales*, he engaged a great many Families to go with him to that new-found Country, where every Thing flourished in Plenty. Accordingly, he set Sail a second Time, with ten *Ships*, but as his Colony was but small, in Respect of the Inhabitants which he found there, his People by Degrees dwindled into their Language and Customs; and, as it must be supposed, intermixed with the Natives in Marriages, so that the Inhabitants found there by the *Spaniards*, were certainly Descendants from those *Britons*; for it appears by the History of *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, that the Natives of the Island of *Cozumel* honoured the Cross, and made Use of several *Words* in their Language, which are of *Welsh* Signification; for instance: The Island of *Penguin*, and the *Birds* of that Name, in *Welsh* signifies *Whitehead*; for so these Birds in reality have white Heads. Likewise there is a Kind of *Fruit* growing in that Country, called *Gwyneths*, which is a *Welsh* Word. Moreover, it appears from the Evidence of the *Spanish Chronicles* \*, that the Speech made by *Motezuma*, that great Emperor of *Mexico*, in the Presence of *Hernando Cortez*, about the Year 1520, is a further Confirmation of what is related of that *Welsh* Settlement; for when *Cortez* had made the Emperor a Prisoner, and found that his Subjects were unanimously resolved to rescue him, and destroy the *Spaniards*; *Cortez* fearing the worst, soothed *Motezuma* with such fair Speeches, as prevailed on him to desire his Subjects to lay down their Arms; to which Purpose he harangued them in the following Manner.

His Return  
to *Wales*,  
and second  
Voyage to  
*America*.

Words in  
the *Welsh*  
Language  
used in *A-*  
*merica*.

“ My

\* Barthol., Leonardo de Argenfola, Herrera, Anton, de Solis, &c,

Emperor  
Motezuma's  
Speech to his  
Subjects.

" My Kinsmen, Friends, and Servants; you well know, that eighteen Years I have been your King, as my Fathers and Grandfathers were, and always I have been unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me, good and obedient Subjects; and so I hope you will remain unto me all the Days of my Life. You ought to have in Remembrance, that either you have heard of your Fathers, or else our Divines have instructed you, that we are not naturally of this Country, nor yet is our Kingdom durable; because our *Forefathers* came from a far Country, and *their* King and Captain *who* brought them hither, returned again to his natural Country, saying, that he would send such as should rule and govern us, if by Chance he himself returned not, &c."—

The chief  
Motives for  
a voluntary  
Submission,  
proceeded  
from Super-  
stition.

This Oration of *Motezuma's* carries with it a strong Presumption in Favour of the *Welsh* History; for though the *West-Indians* were deficient of Literature, yet they handed down every Thing of Moment by Tradition, from Father to Son; nor were their Priests less famous in foretelling some future Events, which, as they were the more remarkable, so they made the stronger Impressions on the People; and therefore, in this that concerned the Revolution of their State, which had been foretold them for many Years before, it conduced very much to the Advantage of the *Spaniards* when the *Indians* saw that Time probably come to pass, which they so much dreaded; and as it carried with it the plain Appearance of the overthrow of their Monarchy, they were the sooner brought into Subjection; for they put so great Confidence in that *Prophecy*, that they thought it in vain to oppose the *Spaniards*.

The French  
Pretensions  
in America,

Before I enter upon a Scrutiny of the *Spanish Title* to the *West-Indies*, I think it necessary to take Notice of the *French Pretensions* in that Part of the World.

First French  
Discoverer  
*James Car-*  
*thier*, in  
1534.

The first that set out in Behalf of the *French Nation*, upon an Expedition of that Kind, was *James Carthier*, of *St Malo*, on the twentieth of *April* 1534, with two *Ships* upon the King's Account, with which he arrived at *Newfoundland* on the tenth of *May* following, which he coasted, and took upon him to give new Names to Harbours and Islands thereabouts, which had been discovered thirty-eight Years before that Time by *Cabot*, for King *Henry VII*, and frequented by the *English*, as has been already mentioned. Nevertheless, the *French* called this a *Discovery*, and returned home very proud of their Adven-

ture,



ture, and of a *Prize* of two Children of the Natives, whom they had seized by surprize in a Canoo, and afterwards extorted a Consent from the Parents for their Departure with them, which the poor People were not able to prevent.

A great Prize indeed.

However, this encouraged the King of *France* to order further Discoveries to be made, and, thereupon, the said Mr *Cartier* was sent out with three Ships, properly furnished, with which he entered the River *St Lawrence*, on the eighth of *August* 1535, which the Natives called the River of *Hochelaga*, from the Town of that Name, which lay up in the Country of *Canada*, and which the Frenchmen went to see. It is surprizing to hear with what Assurance they gave an Account, after their return Home to *France*, of their Success in converting the Natives to the Christian Religion, in so short a Space of Time, as two or three Days Conversation, and giving them so great a Dislike to their God *Cudruaigny*, as that they should say, he was nought. When we consider the Nature of those People, their obstinate Temper, their Bigotry to Idolatry, and the Strangeness of their Language, it is incredible that they should be so soon and so easily persuaded from an Opinion which they had imbibed from their Infancy; and especially, when, by the Actions of the Discoverers, they could see no Examples of that Uprightness in Life, which is recommended by the Christian Religion, to be practised by all it's Professors, and which should induce these obstinate Infidels to make so sudden a Change in their Minds and Manners.

*Cartier* discovers the River *St Lawrence*, in 1535.

The French Sailors pretend to make Converts.

There is another early Discovery which was made by the *English*, and which claims the Precedence of any other Christian Nation, that is, as to the *Island of Madeira*, which was first discovered by one *Macham*, an *Englishman*, in the Year 1344, in the following Manner, which is recorded in the *Chronicles* of the Reign of *Peter IV*, then King of *Arragon*, in the *Portugal* History, written by *Antonio Galuano*.

*Island of Madeira* first discovered by an *Englishman*, in 1344.

" This *Macham* having sailed out of *England*, with intent to withdraw into *Spain* with a Woman whom he had stolen, or, as the Saying is, run away with, was, by tempestuous Weather, accidentally drove upon the *Island of Madeira*, where he landed with her, and some of his Company, in a Bay or Haven, which after

The Manner of the Discovery.

" him

\* History of Portugal, by *Antonio Galuano*.

“ him is called *Machico*, in order to recover her from her  
 “ Sea-Sickness and Fright. But the *Ship* being afterward  
 “ drove off from the Coast, sailed away with the rest of  
 “ the Crew, and left *Macham*, with his Mistress, and  
 “ such as had landed with him, without Hope of return-  
 “ ing from the *Island*, which *she* took so much to Heart,  
 “ that she died for Grief; and *Macham*, to commemorate  
 “ his Affection for her, and the Occasion and Manner of  
 “ their coming there, built a little *Chapel*, and a Mo-  
 “ nument to bury her in, whereon he engraved the whole  
 “ Story. He afterwards made a Canoo, by hollowing a  
 “ large Tree, and in it, without Sails or Oars, ventured  
 “ to Sea, and was drove upon the Coast of *Africa*, where  
 “ the *Moors* took him and his Companions, and presented  
 “ them to their King as a great Wonder, and he sent  
 “ them all to the King of *Castile*.”

This Discovery put others upon the like Enterprizes,  
 in Consequence of which King *Henry III*, of *Castile*, and  
 several in *France*, went upon the further Discovery of  
*Madeira*, and of the *Canary Islands*, in the Year 1395,  
 which was forty-nine Years after *Macham*’s Discovery.  
 The same Author who writes about *Macham*, as before,  
 says, that in the Year 1417, during the Reign of King  
*John II*, of *Castile*, and the Regency of his Mother Lady  
*Katherine*, one Monsier *Ruben* of *Bracamont*, who was  
 Admiral of *France*, obtained from the above Queen-  
 Regent, leave to conquer the Islands of the *Canaries*,  
 with the Title of King, for a Kinsman of his, named  
*John Betancourt*; for which Purpose she likewise assisted  
 him with a good Number of *Soldiers*, with whom he de-  
 parted from *Seville*; but, at the same Time, it was gene-  
 rally thought, that his principal Aim was upon the *Island*  
 of *Madeira*, which had been already discovered by *Ma-*  
*cham* seventy-three Years before. Nevertheless, the *Spa-*  
*niards* pretend, that they discovered the *Canaries* in *Co-*  
*lumbus*’s first Voyage to *America*, and the *Portuguese* claim  
 the first Discovery of those *Islands* in their Voyage towards  
*Ethiopia* and the *East-Indies*, which carries the greater  
 Probability with it; for the *Portuguese* traded to the  
*East-Indies* for Spices, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-*  
*Hope*, before *America* was discovered by *Columbus*; and  
 tho’ the *Spaniards*, with the Assistance of several *English*  
 Gentlemen, whose Posterity remain in the *Islands* of *Ca-*  
*nary*, *Teneriffe*, and *Palma*, to this Day, were the first  
 that entirely subdued those *Islands* to Obedience; yet

The *Spa-*  
*niards* and  
*Portuguese*  
 contend a-  
 bout the  
 Discovery of  
 the *Can-*  
*aries*.

*Canary I-*  
*slands* con-  
 quered by  
 the Assi-  
 stance of the  
*English*.

it is no Argument that they were the first Discoverers thereof.

Having now set forth the most early *Discoveries* which have been made of the then unknown Parts of the World, by the *English*, the *Spanish*, and the *French* Subjects, in Behalf of their respective Sovereigns; I shall now proceed to a *Consideration* of the *Right* and *Title* of each Crown, in Consequence of such *Discoveries*.

This Right, if any, must accrue either from an *original Discovery*, or from an *actual*, and just *Possession*: And taking it in either Sense, or rather in both, there is great Reason, from what has been related in Respect of the Voyage of *Madock ap Owen Gwyneth*, to give the Precedence of Right, even under the Denomination of *hereditary Right*, to the *English*; for where the Crown is once lawfully possessed of Lands in it's own *Right*, no Lapse of Time, in discontinuing that Possession, can bar it's future Claim thereto; and therefore, if the Truth of *Madock's* Enterprize cannot be confuted, as I believe it can't, the King of *Great Britain* has a Right to be restored to those antient Possessions of his Crown. For whatsoever Subject of any Prince or State first discovers, and lawfully enters upon any Lands, till then unknown, and unclaimed by any other *lawful* Prince or State, those Lands are then immediately deemed to be the *Seignory* of that Prince or State, whose Subject was such first *Discoverer*, or Possessor thereof; and as it seems that *Madock* was received by Consent of the People, so his Entry was lawful: so resting this here, I shall come nearer home, and enter upon the Merit of the *Spaniards* Claim under the Discovery of *Christopher Columbus*, which is the *ne plus ultra* of their Pretensions.

Right by Discoveries considered.

No Lapse of Time can bar the Right of the Crown,

The Notions which *Columbus* at first probably formed to himself, of the Situation of more Lands to the westward than were then known, must have been owing to the vast Disparity which he found in the small Extent of the then known World, compared with that of the greater Ocean; and considering that so great a Globe as comprehended the Earth, and the Sea, must, in all Probability, contain a greater Quantity of Land than was then known; otherwise, he was at a Loss to think wherefore so great a Body of Water should subsist, at the same Time that only so small a Quantity of Earth was to be found in it, which could answer no conceivable Purpose respecting the Creation, according to human Way of thinking; he therefore

A Supposition of the Grounds for *Columbus's* Notions.

therefore could not be persuaded, but that there was a great deal more Land lying to the Westward than was yet discovered ; and as *Chance* had furnished him with a Proof of the Truth of his Conjecture, by Means of the Master of a Ship, who died in his House, as is before related ; so he was stedfastly confirmed therein, and *Spain*, by a Kind of *Chance* too, reaped the Fruits of his Study and Labour in the Manner before-mentioned.

The natural  
State of the  
Indians be-  
fore the  
Conquest.

The Inhabitants of that Part of the World called *America*, were, at the same Time, as great Strangers to the Knowledge of any other Continent but their own, as the *Spaniards* were, before *Columbus's* Expedition to that of *America*, which was divided into two vast Empires, viz. *Mexico*, and *Peru*, which were also divided into Kingdoms, Provinces, and Lordships, wherein the Inhabitants were governed by their respective Kings, Princes, and Chieftans, or *Caziques*, according to the Laws and Customs of the Place ; to whom the Populace submitted with as great Loyalty and Readiness, as ever any *Europeans* did to their own Monarchs. They had not much Occasion for Traffic, every Necessary in Life, being, in a Manner, in common among them. Tho' they fell into the Practice of *Bigamy*, yet their *Maidens*, or unmarried Women, were chaste, and their *Wives* were constant. They were in Possession of the greatest *Riches* that the Earth could afford, both in *Metals* and *precious Stones* ; yet they valued it not, nor had they Occasion for it. They required no Gardeners to dress their Vines, nor Herdsmen to take Care of their Flocks. Nature supported their daily Wants, by the fruitful Produce of the Land, and they stood in need of nothing, but a true *Knowledge* of the great God their Creator. But when I mention that, I may say, they wanted every Thing, since without him all is nought.——

The first  
Act of Pos-  
session by the  
*Spaniards*  
illegal.

How far  
the Right  
of a Disco-  
verer ought  
to extend.

In this State the *Spaniards* found them ; and though the former received Instances of Hospitality from them at their first landing in *Hispaniola*, when the best and largest of *Columbus's* three *Ships* was run ashore, and broke to Pieces ; yet the *Spaniards* requited them with *Murders*, *Rapes*, and *Robberies*, and, by mere Force, established a Possession of their Lands and Goods, and *usurped* a Government over their Persons, without any lawful Cause or Pretext. If the *Right* of the *Spaniards* be considered merely as being the first *Discoverers* of that Country, surely that *Right* cannot be construed to extend farther than

where



where they took actual Possession, and made Settlements, unless they will insist upon it figuratively, by taking a Part in the Name of the whole; if so, they know not where their *Right* determines, since the north Parts of the Continent of *America* are not yet known: but should any *Englishman* happen to discover them hereafter, and make a *Chart* of the Coasts, whereby the *Spaniards* could find the Way thither, they would certainly extend their Claim thither likewise, according to the foregoing Rule: and unless they insist upon this general Claim of all the *Terra firma*, in Right of their first Discovery, the *English* must be certainly intitled to all the Coast from *Newfoundland* to *Florida*, and to such other Places as the *Spaniards* knew nothing of before, nor were ever in sight of; and, for the same Reason, the *English* must also be intitled to the Discoveries made by Sir *Francis Drake*, on the South-Sea Side of *America*, where never *Spaniard* was before, viz. from *Santa Clara*, on the Point of *California*, in 23 Degrees of North Latitude to 43 Degrees; where, finding it extreme cold, he returned back into 38 Degrees of Latitude, where the King of that Country, to which Country Sir *Francis* gave the Name of *Nova Albion*, willingly resigned his Crown and Sceptre, in Token of Submission to *Queen Elizabeth*, which was such a Possession, as the *Spaniards* are not able to boast of; nor did they obtain any in a just or peaceable Manner, but, on the contrary, by downright Artifice and Treachery, supported by Force and Violence. It was from this Place that Sir *Francis* took his Departure for the *Moluccas*, in June 1579, when he made his Voyage round the World.

The *English* Right on the South-Sea Side of Part of *America*.

Since therefore this universal Right to all *America* cannot reasonably subsist to the *Spaniards*, merely for their being the first *Europeans*, if admitted to be so, who got a Sight of that unknown Land; it must then follow, that they ground their Claim upon their actual Possession; and, if so, such Claim cannot extend to any Parts whereof they never were possessed, before any other *Europeans*; for if Possessions of that Nature were allowed to be sufficient in establishing a Right and Title in the Conqueror, of the whole of what belonged to the conquered; *Great Britain* may claim all the *Spanish* Dominions, in Right of being possessed of *Gibraltar* and *Jamaica*.

How far a Right by Possession should extend.

Though the Empire of *Mexico* was very large, yet it did not comprehend all the northern Continent of *America*; and the strongest Argument that the *Spaniards* can

The Spaniards Pretences for a Right of Conquest.

Extent of their Possessions in America, in 1518.

Diego Velasquez, Governor of Cuba.

Motives which prompted Velasquez to discover the Continent.

Grijalva's Expedition, in 1518.

Inhumanity of the Spanish Free-Booters.

make for their pretended *Right* is, that there was a voluntary Resignation and Vassalage made and acknowledged by the Emperor *Moteczuma* to *Cortez*, for the Use of the King of *Spain*, which, they say, gave *Cortez* a Right to insist upon the future Obedience of the Subjects of *Moteczuma*, and to obtain, by Force of Arms, what by Subtilty and Deceit he was no longer able to compass. In order therefore to examine into the Legality of this Possession of the Continent, it will be necessary to take a View of the Manner in which it was obtained by *Cortez*.

The Success which attended the Discovery made by *Christopher Columbus*, and his Successors, for the Space of twenty-six Years ensuing, which was to the Year 1518, was the Reduction only of those four Islands of *St Domingo*, *Cuba*, *Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, and a little Footing they had got on the Isthmus of *Darien*, the most southerly Part of that now called *New Spain* on the Continent, as mentioned before.

Captain *Diego Velasquez* was at this Time Deputy-Governor of *Cuba*, as Lieutenant under *Diego Colon*, the second Admiral of the *Indies*; and hearing of the Riches of *America*, by his being so nearly situated to it, and also from some *Soldiers*, who the Year before had been at *Yucatan*, in an Expedition under *Ferdinandez de Cordova*, who lost his Life in the Action, and his Men were defeated, (for what Gold they had in *Cuba* was brought thither from *Yucatan*, a *Peninsula* of the Continent, which divides the Gulphs of *Mexico* and *Honduras*) he sent out four *Vessels*, under the Command of *Juan de Grijalva*, with two hundred and fifty *Soldiers*, who, in April 1518, set out for *Yucatan*, and, in their Way, accidentally hit upon the *Island* of *Cozumel*, which lies on the East Side of that *Peninsula*, in the Bay of *Honduras*, as before related.

These Parts had already been visited from Time to Time by several *Spanish Captains*, who were *Free-Booters*; and who, for the Sake of Plunder, had committed all Manner of Vices, and Acts of Inhumanity among the poor *Indians*, which very justly fixed a Notion among those latter, that *Religion* was only a Pretence, whilst a covetous, and insatiable Thirst after Gold and Silver, seemed to have been the chief Aim of those *Conquerors*. So that from hence it is plain, that the *Indians* never made a voluntary Submission by Choice, but that such as it was, proceeded from Fear of Oppression, and a Want

of

of Means to protect themselves against the Inroads of the Spaniards.

From Cozumel, Grijalva went to Yucatan, and landed where Fernandez de Cordova had been defeated the Year before, and, in Revenge of his Death, which was very justifiable in the Indians, as being in their own Defence, he destroyed every Thing that came his Way; then returning on Board, he coasted the Land to the Bottom of the Bay of Campechy, and went up the River of Tobasco, in two of his smallest Vessels, with all his Soldiers, where finding a great Body of Indians in Canoes, and on the Shore, he landed and set up his Standard, which, with some other short Ceremonies used by those Conquerors, was the Manner of their taking Possession, as they called it. He sent them a Message by two Indian Boys, who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to Yucatan, that he came in Peace, and that he and his Men were Vassals to a powerful Monarch, who possessed an Empire where the Sun rises, in whose Name he came to offer them Peace, and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects. The Indians gave a disagreeable Attention to this Proposal, and one of them, in the Name of the rest, made an Answer very just and remarkable: " That they did not esteem that to be a good Kind of Peace, which was desired to be introduced by Subjection and Vassalage; and thought it preposterous to talk to them of a new Master, before he knew whether they were discontented with him they already had: But as to the Point of Peace or War, they would speak of it to their Superiors, and return with an Answer." The Result was, that their Cazique came, and said, that he accepted of Peace for the best, as it was left to his Choice to chuse good or bad; and having regaled the Spaniards, and presented them with some Curiosities of Gold, Feathers, and Cotton Cloths, the Cazique told Grijalva, that by that Present, he took a friendly Leave of him in Token of Peace, and so departed; and Grijalva returned on Board, proceeded along the Coast, and traded with the Natives by bartering Toys for Gold: At last, meeting with Opposition, being attacked at the River of Panuco, the farthest Province of New Spain, on the Gulph of Mexico, they returned to Cuba; and their Report to Velasquez put him upon prosecuting these Discoveries further. Hereupon he fitted out ten Ships, and appointed Hernan Cortez to be Captain-General of that Fleet, and of the Countries discovered,

Grijalva's Cruelties at Yucatan.

Goes up the River of Tobasco.

Manner of taking Possession.

Remarkable Answer of the Indians to Grijalva's Offer.

*Cortez sets out, in 1518, with a Fleet, by Order of Velasquez.*

*Is superseded.*

*Velasquez's Authority questioned.*

*Cortez's Authority ceases, and why.*

*His great Successes support his Conduct, though a Rebel in Fact.*

*His Policy.*

discover'd, or to be discover'd. With this Fleet he set out in *November 1518*; but before he had quitted the Coast of *Cuba*, his Authority was revoked by *Velasquez*, and another appointed in his Room; but as *Cortez* was now in Possession of his Post, and of the Fleet, and got out of the Reach of *Velasquez*, he refused to return, or submit, but proceeded on the intended Enterprize.

From this Time it must be considered with what Authority *Cortez* undertook the Conquests which he afterwards made. *Velasquez*, who had at first appointed him to that Undertaking, was himself but a Deputy to the Vice-Admiral *Colon*, by the Title of *Lieutenant*, and as such, governed the Island of *Cuba* only; and had *Cortez* been continued by him in that Command wherewith the other pretended to invest him, and had been defeated, or lost the Fleet, it is to be doubted whether the Court of *Spain* would have allowed of that Authority, which *Velasquez* had assumed to himself, of appointing *Cortez* to such a great Command, without the Leave of the Court, who was no Way apprized of the Matter.

On the other hand, as *Velasquez* had revoked the Authority which he had given to *Cortez*, and had afterwards caused it to be signified to him in Form, we must consider *Cortez*, from that Time forth, to be no other than a formidable Rebel as to *Spain*; and a Pyrate and Robber as to the *Indians*; for though his fortunate Successes in *America* were, upon that Account, afterwards approved of in *Spain*, since without further Aid from thence, he was incapable of preserving his new Acquisitions; and having, by the Proofs he sent home of the Riches of the Country, dazzled the Eyes of the Court, secured powerful Agents in his Behalf, and obtained not only a Confirmation and Applause of his Actions, but also full Powers to proceed as he had begun; yet all this was subsequent to his Reduction of the City of *Mexico*, the Capital of that Empire; and his intermediate Actions would have been far from receiving Approbation, if the Advantages attending them had not happened to be very great, in Respect of *Old Spain*, without whose further Assistance, could he have maintained his Conquest, it is thought he would have been far from laying them at the King's Feet.

Nevertheless, it was but common Policy in *Cortez* to screen all his Actions in the King's Name, otherwise, he could not expect to exact that Obedience necessarily due from those under him, nor carry on his Conquests with any

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any Colour; and lastly, had he thrown off the Mask, before he knew in what Shape his Enterprizes would end, he would have been left destitute of all Hopes of reconciling himself at home, in Case of his miscarrying abroad; and, in Case of Success, he must have purchased his Pardon with a Resignation of all past Gains, and of all future Honour, and Advantages of his Expedition.

In this Light we must trace *Hernan Cortez* from the  
aforesaid Time of his setting out, till he reduced *Mexico*,  
which was on the thirteenth of *August 1521*, as a Person  
invading the Rights and Properties of a Nation, massacring  
its Inhabitants, and extorting a Kind of Submission  
from them to the King of *Castile*, under *fictitious* Encomiums  
and Titles of a Sovereignty, most monstrous to  
boast of, and a Power in itself altogether as false, such  
as stiling the King of *Castile*, Monarch \* of the East,  
and pretending that † himself came as *Ambassador*  
from the most powerful Monarch the Sun shined on from  
its rising, and such like, which is frequently to be  
met with in all his Addresses and Speeches to the *Indians*.  
He took all Opportunities of introducing himself among  
them as a Friend and Ally, and, on that Account, met  
with *Hospitality* and generous Treatment; but, at the  
same Time, he made use of those Receptions, as a Handle  
to insist upon a Possession of those Places where he was thus  
civilly entertained. He declared ‡, that one of the Designs  
of his valiant Troops, was to redress Wrongs, punish  
Violence, and to take Part with *Justice* and Reason. *Don*  
*Quixote* could have said no more; but the other Designs  
he kept to himself. With such Speeches and Insinuations  
he sounded the Minds of those Governors of Provinces  
under *Moteczuma*, and played the one against the other so  
artfully, that he enflamed them with Jealousies of each  
other; and when he had kindled a War or Rebellion, he  
then stepped in as a Mediator, and seized the Bone of Con-  
tention. His Steps seem now to be exactly followed by  
some in *Europe*, that one would be apt to think, a second  
*Cortez* was at the Head of Affairs in a neighbouring  
Kingdom.

How *Cortez*  
is to be con-  
sidered.

His false  
Speeches.  
Conduct.

Where Possessions were obtained in this Manner, and  
that a Stranger, who was received in the Country, and  
the Towns, in the most civil Manner, should afterwards

\* At the Reception of *Moteczuma's* Ambassadors at *St Juan de Ulua*.

† In his first Speech to *Moteczuma*.

‡ His Speech to the *Caziques* of *Zempoala*.

The Massacre in Cholula.

wards pretend to assume an immediate Authority over the People, in Return for their *Hospitality*, it is no wonder that they should enter into private Cabals, and Conspiracies, to get rid of such ungrateful Guests. But how such People can be called *Traitors*, when their *Submission*, such as it was, was forced in that unjustifiable manner, is wonderful in those who wrote the Histories of those Times; but when we consider who they were, *Spaniards*, we must not admire at it. The Massacre committed by *Cortez* in the City of *Cholula*, in cold Blood, in his Way to *Mexico*, is, for that Reason, pretended to be justified\*; because he discovered an Intention in the Inhabitants to surprize him and his Men. Could he expect any other elsewhere, tho' he had the good Fortune to surmount every Difficulty? For it is a common Saying, that a Man cannot be hanged for thinking, and if *Cortez* could make it a Crime worthy of that unchristian Revenge at *Cholula*, he by the same Rule might have destroyed every Man in *America*.

The only Authority, by Virtue whereof *Cortez* now proceeded, was such as took it's Rise from his own Person, in the following odd Manner.

*Cortez* forms a Civil Government at *La Vera Cruz*.

When he made a Settlement at *La Vera Cruz*, for the Benefit of his Shipping, as being the only Harbour of Safety thereabouts; and, by the Permission of the Natives, under Colour of an Ally and Friend, fortified himself and his Troops there, to serve as a Place of Retreat, in Case of Need; he formed a Kind of Civil Magistracy, composed of some of his Followers, and named the proper *Officers*, and a *Council*; and being sensible of his past Error in acting without any legal Authority, he thought to amend it by the Method now proposed. He assembled this new *Council*, and in a Speech † to them, acknowledged the *weak* Foundation he stood upon, in Respect of his Authority, &c. and thereupon throws down his Staff, and declares his Resignation of that Command given him by *Velasquez*. The Council accept of his Resignation, and then *elect* him anew, to be *Commander* in Chief of the Army; which Authority he re-assumes.

Resigns his Command.

Is elected by the Council.

Re-assumes the Command.

Such was the Source of his succeeding Authority, under which he completed the Reduction of *Mexico*; an Authority of his own creating, and which could give no lawful Sanction to his future Actions, any more than they who

appointed

\* Antonio de Solis,

† Ibid.

appointed him could pretend to justify themselves, in assuming that Authority of investing him with that Power, in Consequence of the first Power, which, in fact, they had received from him. So that upon the whole, he was still as deficient of *lawful Power*, as he was when superseded by *Velasquez's* Revocation before-mentioned.

His Authority not justifiable.

The Reception of *Cortez* in *Mexico*, though against *Moteczuma's* Inclination, as he could not get over it, was yet in a magnificent Manner; and as *Cortez* had in his Way thither, stirred up all the *Caziques* to rebel against *Moteczuma*, they refused paying the usual Tributes to his Officers, who went about collecting it; and *Juan de Escalante*, whom *Cortez* had left as Governor of *Vera Cruz* in his Absence, sallying out to chastize *Moteczuma's* Officers, and to support the *Rebels*, was himself slain in a Battle; upon which *Cortez* took that Pretence of seizing the Person of *Moteczuma* in his Palace, and confining him in the *Spanish* Quarters; yet seemingly not under any Restraint, it being whispered to *Moteczuma* by the *Interpreter* \*, by Order of *Cortez*, that if he did not submit, his Life was at Stake, so that to protect the *Spaniards* and himself from the just Rage of his People, he concealed from his *Ministers* and Subjects his Confinement, pretending it was his own Choice to reside there: But they saw through the whole Affair, and justly resenting that base Usage of their King, besieged *Cortez* in his Quarters; and the unfortunate Prince going to shew himself on the Battlements of the House, to quell his Subjects, received a *Wound* in his Head from a Stone thrown at him, whereof, in a few Days after, he died under the same Confinement. His Successor *Guatimozin*, who was elected by the Voice of the People, according to their Customs, made War upon the *Spaniards*, and obliged them to quit the City of *Mexico*. Afterwards *Cortez*, with the Assistance of the *Tlascalans*, a Province always at War with the *Mexicans*, besieged *Mexico*, took *Guatimozin* Prisoner, with all his Family, and reduced the Town to his Obedience, having before that taken all the neighbouring ones; and thus the *Mexicans* were brought into Subjection, on the thirteenth of *August* 1521.

*Cortez's* Pretence for seizing *Moteczuma*.

Death of *Moteczuma*.

*Guatimozin* elected his Successor,

wages War against *Cortez*;

is overcome, and *Mexico* reduced, *August* 13, 1521.

The Pretences made by *Cortez*, for warring against the *Mexicans*, were, that *Moteczuma* had formally, and voluntarily, acknowledged the King of *Spain* to be lawful and hereditary

The *Spaniards* Justification for this Conquest attempted.

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\* *Donna Maria*, a female *Indian*, Favourite of *Cortez's*.

Refuted.

hereditary Lord of the Mexican Empire. But when this Acknowledgment is narrowly looked into, it will appear to be no other than what was forced, and extorted from him, at a Time when he was *Prisoner* in *Cortez's* Power, as I just now related; and as his *Confinement* was both *unjust* and *dishonourable*, so no Means to get clear of it, and of the Oppressors, could be deemed to be otherwise than what was natural and *just* for any Man to do in the like Case; and it was rather a Virtue, than a Crime, in his Subjects, to endeavour the regaining of his Liberty. Moreover, according to the modern *Spanish* Way of explaining \* Things, that Acknowledgment extorted from *Moteczuma*, was *reciprocally* to be understood; for *Cortez* at the same Time declared † in the Assembly, convened upon that Occasion, " That it was not the *Intention* of the King, his Sovereign, to dispossess him (*Moteczuma*) of his Royal Dignity, nor to make the least *Innovation* in his Government, &c." when, at the same Time, he was actually *dispossessed* of that Royal Dignity, in the most scandalous and unjustifiable Manner: And the Means made Use of by *Cortez* to found a *Succession* for his King to that *Monarchy*, were a Complication of Arguments and Facts altogether *false* and counterfeit; wherefore, as the Successor of *Moteczuma*, and the *Indians*, who then were his lawful *Subjects*, had recovered their first Surprise, and seen through the Mistake of *Moteczuma*, and the gross Imposition on themselves, it was no Rebellion in them to defend their *Rights*, and to endeavour to rout the *Spaniards* out of their Dominions. But it is evident, that *Cortez* never intended to acquiesce, without the entire Overthrow of *Moteczuma*: for after this last had complied, most surprizingly, with all that *Cortez* could openly pretend to desire, such as acknowledging *Vassalage*, and paying *Contribution* to that supposed great Monarch of the *East*, and all upon Condition of *Cortez's* withdrawing out of his Dominions; yet *Cortez* would not leave the City upon any Account: And though he was obliged to go to *Vera Cruz*, to oppose the Forces sent against him by *Velasquez*, he left *Moteczuma* still a *Prisoner* in his *Quarters*, under the Care of *Pedro de Alvarado*, against whom the *Mexicans* rose in Arms upon the following Occasion, which is thus recounted by *Bartholomeo de las Casas*, afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*.

*Cortez's*  
Breach of  
Faith with  
*Moteczuma*.

\* *Spanish Manifesto*, in Relation to the Convention in 1739. N. S.

† Antonio de Solis.

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“ The *Mexicans* having appointed a public *Dance* of that Kind called *Mitotes*, wherein the Nobles, and all Sorts of People, intermix without Distinction, in great Numbers, dressed up in their richest Ornaments, in order to divert *Motexuma* in his Confinement; *Pedro Alvarado* taking Notice of the *Jewels* with which they were adorned, called together his *Soldiers*, and fell upon them, cutting them to Pieces for the Sake of their Ornaments; in gaining of which infamous Spoils, above two thousand of the *Mexican Nobility* were killed.”

Barbarous  
Action of  
*Alvarado*.

Upon this the *Mexicans* formed a *Conspiracy* to be revenged on the *Spaniards*, and rose in Arms against them, for which they are no Way blameable: Though the Conduct of *Alvarado* is attempted to be justified by some, under Pretence that the *Mexicans* had first conspired against him, and that upon the Information he had of it, he resolved to begin with them first. But even this Excuse is a very weak one; for *Cortez*, at his Return, reprimanded him for it, nevertheless, he took Occasion from thence to declare War against the *Mexicans*, while he had their King in his Power, in which this latter lost his Life as before-mentioned.

Above two  
thousand of  
the *Mexican*  
*Nobility*  
massacred.

*Alvarado's*  
Conduct  
pretended to  
be justified,  
but in vain.

This *Conquest* of *Mexico* is pretended to be justified by the same Author \* as a Thing permitted in other Parts of the World, and allowed of to be lawful, reasonable, and justifiable, whensoever it appears to be undertaken as the necessary Means for the Introduction of the Gospel.

*Spaniards*  
further Ju-  
stification  
for the Con-  
quest at-  
tempted.

This is the *dernier Resort* of the *Spaniards*, and their Advocates, to support their Arguments in Favour of that Conquest, which is introducing a *Maxim*, That it is lawful to commit *Evil* that Good may come of it. A very wicked and dangerous *Maxim* surely; and such, as is not to be justified upon Christian Principles. If we look into the Instructions given by our Saviour to his Apostles, and the Methods taken by them to convert Unbelievers, we shall find no Authority for making Use of the Sword to propagate the Gospel; but, on the contrary, to make Use of *Reason* and *Persuasion*, and by good Examples to shew the Paths of Righteousness to the *Wicked* and *Idolatrous*. Neither did the Apostles claim or pretend to exercise any temporal Authority over those whom they converted, nor denounce Persecution against Unbelievers, but recommended quite the contrary, such as Obedience, Humility,

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Persuasion,

Perfuasion, &c. The Sword may terrify, and, for a Time, may enforce an outward Shew of Compliance, in Form of Worship, but will never touch the Heart with a *Remorse* of Conscience, nor fix a real Belief of what is required of such, contrary to what is against their own Opinion, and which is grounded on the Principles in which they have been educated, which, like a rough Piece of Glass, is not to be polished by Force, but by gentle and frequent rubbing. That inhuman Practice of forcing Mens Minds and Consciences by shedding of Blood, being at first set on Foot by Tyrants, who endeavoured to suppress the Growth of the Christian Faith; and which being therefore justly termed by the Christians a *Persecution*, ought not to be copied by the latter to the like Purposes in any Shape.

A Force on  
Conscience  
ineffectual.

Dispeopling  
a Country,  
prevents the  
spreading of  
the Gospel.

Obstacles to  
the Conver-  
sion of the  
Indians.

It was certainly a very ready Way of extirpating *Idolatry*, to depopulate a Country, and transplant it with *Christians*, from another Part of the World; but this was neither doing Honour to God, nor saving of Souls. It was not increasing the Number of the Faithful, nor bringing Sinners to Repentance; so far from that, it was not only destroying Soul and Body, to make them die in their Iniquity, but likewise *destroying* the *Means* whereby Christianity may take Root, and spread among thousands, by being communicated from one Province to another, in a peaceable and friendly Manner, which would soon have taken Effect; where it was obvious, that the *Promoters* of it had nothing else in View, but merely the *Conversion* of the People from Practices, which, in a little Time, would have appeared to themselves to have been inconsistent with Reason and human Nature. But the Vices of *Covetousness*, of boundless *Ambition* to rule, and of *insatiable* Desire after that alluring Metal *Gold*, the Produce of the Country, appearing to the *Indians* to be the principal Aim, and *predominant* Passion of the *Spaniards*, they from thence very justly apprehended, that whatever was at any Time urged in Favour of Religion, was no other than a Pretence for their *unjust Intrusion* among them; therefore it could not be expected that any *real Converts* could be made by mere Dint of Conquest; nor that any Obedience, or *Resignation* of the Inhabitants, could be deemed any other, than what was a forced one, and which the *present* Necessity they were under, and the natural Law of Self-Defence dictated to them, to dissemble towards the Conquerors, until such Time as they could

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could have an Opportunity of throwing off the *Spanish Yoke of Slavery*, which was far more intolerable to them, than the natural State of Subjection they were under to their own Governors or *Caziques*.

The Emperor *Moteczuma*, and all the *Indians*, wherever the *Spaniards* came, were very sensible of those Allurements which induced the latter to *invade* their Country; and therefore they thought to get rid of them by gratifying them, for that Time, with great *Presents*; for instance, what was given to *Cortez* by Way of Contribution to his King, together with what the several *Caziques* presented him with in his Journeys through the Country, from Time to Time. But these Actions had quite the contrary Effect, and served to *increase* rather than to abate their *Coveteousness*, especially when they saw the mighty *Wealth* of *Mexico*, and entertained Hopes of being soon Masters of that, and of the whole Country together. The chief Thing which contributed to render that *Conquest* so easy, was the Novelty of the *Fire-Arms*, and the Terror they struck into the *Indians*; which Advantages were pursued with so much Speed, that the others had not Time to reflect, nor Resolution to close in upon their Adversaries, whom such vast Numbers, as were the *Indians*, might have easily seized, before they could load their *Pieces* a second Time, were they not so much *intimidated*, and surprized, at the strange Effect of those *fiery Weapons*.

Thus stands the Claim of the *Spaniards* to *America*, under the Circumstances here mentioned, founded upon those Acts of *Possession* commenced by *Christopher Columbus*, in the Year 1492, and continued by order of the King of *Castile*, until he became Master of the four Islands of *Cuba*, *St Domingo*, *Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, as already taken notice of. The Enterprizes of several *private* Adventurers, and *Fortune-Hunters*, after the Reduction of those *Islands*; and a small Part of the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, until that undertaking of *Hernan Cortez*, in the Year 1518, amounting to no public Advantage, but to the enriching of *such* of the before-mentioned *Adventurers* or *Free-Booters*, who had the good Fortune to come off in a whole Skin, after *murdering* and *pillaging* such of the poor Natives, on the *Islands* and Continent, as they could by any Ways or Means get the better of. Which Proceedings, though they imprinted an implacable Aversion in the *Indians* against the *Spaniards* in general, and brought an Odium upon *Spain* never to be wiped off: Yet, thereby  
such

The *Indians* sensible of the Coveteousness of the *Spaniards*.

The *Indians* dread of *Fire-Arms* contribute to the *Conquest*.

Summary of the *Spaniards* Claim to those four Islands, *Cuba*, &c.

Enterprizes of *Spanish* Free-Booters before that of *Cortez*'s.

Served as  
Guides to  
him.

such Information was obtained of the Nature of the Country, and the People, that it put *Cortez* upon pursuing those Designs which he effected to the Purpose before-mentioned.

How the  
Conquest by  
*Cortez* is to  
be consider-  
ed.

The Point now to be considered is, whether this his Conquest was justifiable or not, according to the Law of Nations, and Principles of Christianity? I don't mean by this, to put the Question to *Spain* for her Decision, because I must expect her Answer in the Affirmative; but as I have stated the whole Case, and as it appears from the *Spanish Historians* themselves, who have endeavoured to set it out in the best Light they could, I put the Question to every unbiassed Reader, who will take upon his Conscience to speak his Sentiments freely, without Favour or Prejudice. In the mean while, I shall give my own Thoughts upon the Matter, and join some further Reasons for what I say, to those before-mentioned, which, I hope, will sufficiently support the Title of these Sheets.

The Nature  
of the Spa-  
nish Claim  
to the West-  
Indies deter-  
mined.

From what has been already said it appears, that the Right claimed by the *Spaniards* to the *West-Indies*, by which I mean their Possessions on the Continent of *America*, and the Islands adjacent, is founded upon a Possession obtained by Conquest. It likewise appears, that that Conquest in general was not justifiable by the Law of Nations, nor by the Doctrine of Christianity. That such as it was, it was obtained under false Overtures, and pretended Acts of Peace and Friendship, by Way of cultivating good Neighbourhood, fair Correspondence, and mutual Commerce with the Natives. That those Acts of Hospitality, which were used by the *Indians* towards the *Spaniards*, whenever the latter came upon their Coasts, were covertly turned into Acts of Possession by the *Spaniards*; and, under Colour of erecting shelter against the extreme Heat of the Sun, they suddenly fortified themselves on the Land, by Virtue of which, they pretended that the *Indians* had made a voluntary Submission, and Acknowledgment of Vassalage to *Spain*.

Artificers of  
the Spa-  
niards to se-  
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session.

*Cortez* had  
no Authori-  
ty whatever.

That whenever the *Indians* became sensible of those Impositions, and endeavoured to regain their Liberties and Properties, they were treated as Rebels in the most inhuman Manner. That in particular, as to the Reduction of the Empire of *Mexico* by *Cortez*: He had not even any Authority in the King's Name to prosecute that Enterprize. He was, in Effect, no other than an Impostor, a formidable Tyrant and Usurper; for he pretended to what he

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was not, an *Ambassador*; and in that Shape too, he advanced nothing but Falshoods, both in Respect of the Character he gave of his *King*, of *himself*, and of his *Embassy*. The *Acknowledgments* made to him by the Emperor *Moteczuma*, were extorted from that Monarch whilst he was a *Prisoner*, and in Fear of his Life. And notwithstanding that, he complied with all *Cortez's* Desires, nay, did more than the other expected; in Consequence of which *Cortez* had promised to quit his Territories, yet he evaded so doing, and thereby justly forfeited those Obligations which *Moteczuma* had laid himself under; in as much as the whole of what was agreed on between them, was reciprocally binding on each Party, as I observed before. As to a Right of *Succession* after *Moteczuma's* Death, though that Part was one of those extorted Acknowledgments, yet it implied a *Proviso*, that *Cortez's* King, that great Monarch of the East, as he called him, was in himself the lawful Heir and Successor of *Quetzualcoatl*, an antient Monarch of Mexico, and, as such Heirship and Succession was no other than downright *Imposture* and *Romance*, beneath the Dignity of a Catholick King to assume and pretend to, or to accept of by the Hands of that pretended *Ambassador*, in order to impose upon another Monarch, to defraud his lawful Successors of their just Right and Title to that Empire: Therefore, that Concession of *Moteczuma*, was in it self void, not only for that Reason, but for this further; that the Monarchs of Mexico being elective, it was not in *Moteczuma's* Power to appoint a Successor, contrary to the Constitution and Law of that Nation; therefore, the Peoples taking up Arms in Right of their free-elected King *Guatimozin*, after *Moteczuma's* Death, as lawful Successor to him, cannot be called a *Rebellion*. Lastly, neither the King of *Castile*, nor any other foreign Prince, much less any private Persons, who were really destitute of that Pretence of Authority, had any lawful Call thither, to commit such execrable Murders, Robberies, and Devastations, under Pretence of introducing the Gospel, by paving it's Way in such a horrid Manner, as could not but give Offence to God, who, knowing the Hearts of Mankind, saw his Name prophaned, and made a Screen for the Commission of those heinous Sins, which flowed from a malignant Source of Ambition and Covetousness. Upon the whole, this pretended Right of Spain, to that Part of the World, is not to be looked upon in any other Light, than as a Thing which any other Power has equal Right to attack,

Summary of  
the Arguments  
*pro*  
and *con*,

Conclusion  
upon the  
*Spanish*  
Right.

attack, and dispossess her of, without any Manner of *Scruple* or Reserve, provided, that in Consequence thereof, the Remains of the *primitive Natives* be duly instructed in the Christian Faith, and *restored* to their *Liberty* upon an *equal Footing* with other Christians.

After concluding this Review of the *Spanish Right*, it comes next to say something respecting that of the *English*.

Review of  
the *English*  
Right.

In the former Part of this Discourse, it has been set forth how, and when, the Subjects of this Nation first went upon *Discoveries* of the *West-Indies*; and though it is allowed, exclusive of that Expedition and Settlement of *Madock ap Gwyneth's*, that through *Christopher Columbus* the *Spaniards* were the first *Europeans* in those latter Days, who got a Sight of, and settled in, the *West-Indies*, and next to them the *English*; yet the latter first set out upon a *Discovery* of the *Continent* twenty-two Years before *Cortez* did; the *Discovery* of *Newfoundland* being made in the Year 1495, and thence along the Coast to *Florida*, in the Year 1497; whereas *Cortez* set out not till the Year 1519, upon his *Mexican Expedition*. Furthermore, the *English* did not set out as tracing the Navigation of the *Spaniards*, or copying from their *Charts*, but, on the contrary, they first set out upon a North-west Course, and in Pursuance of the Intimation given to King *Henry VII*, by *Bartholomew Columbus*, by order of his Brother *Christopher*, whose Instructions would have been put in Execution before the *Spaniards* had set out, but for the Misfortune which attended *Bartholomew* as before-mentioned: Nevertheless, the first *Discovery* of the Island of *Newfoundland* under that King's Patent, was but three Years next after *Christopher Columbus's* *Discovery* of the Island of *Cuba*; and the *English* *Discovery* of the *Continent* of *America*, extending from *Newfoundland* as far as to the Coast of *Florida*, was much earlier than the *Spaniards* had made any *Discoveries* of the southerly Part of the same *Continent*, now called *New Spain*; in which, their first Settlement was only in a small Part of the Province of *Darien*, and was extended no farther till the Expedition of *Cortez* in 1519. Therefore, the *English* have a *Right* to assume to themselves the Honour and Advantages of being the first Discoverers of the *Continent* of *America*; and, according to the Manner of the *Spanish* Pretensions, the *primitive* sovereign *Right* of that *Continent* is *vested* in the Crown of *Great Britain*, by Virtue of that *Discovery*.

Their *Discoveries*  
compared  
with those  
of the *Spaniards*,

The *English*  
proved to be  
the first  
Discoverers  
of the *Continent*.

Have a *primitive*  
*Right*  
to it.

This

This Argument, it is hoped, will be a sufficient Confutation of whatever can be advanced on the Part of *Spain*, in Favour of any Right she may pretend to have to the Continent of *America* in general, by Virtue of the *Discovery* and *Possession* of the Island of *Cuba*, or of any other *Islands* in that Part of the World. And as to the Point of *Right* by actual *Possession*, either of *Islands* or *Continent*, the same will appear still stronger on the Side of the *English*.

Compared  
with the  
*Spanish*  
Rights.

The *Proofs*, in this Behalf, are so notorious to the rest of the World, that I need not dwell long upon this Branch; but may even venture to refer it to the *Spaniards* themselves.

In short, all the *Settlements* and *Plantations* made by the Subjects of *Great Britain*, as well on the Continent, as in the *Islands* belonging to it, were established by the FREE CONSENT of the Natives, without any Artifice, Surprise, Threats, or Compulsion; and without any *Vassalage* acknowledged, or practised, whereby they were deprived either of Liberty or Property, or deceived in any Shape.

The *English*  
Possessions  
justified.

No pretended *Ambassadors* from a most mighty Monarch of the East, ever presumed to impose upon their Understanding, or to persuade them into a Belief of Things utterly false, in order to obtain the more easy Reception for such of the *English* as proposed to settle among them. Instead of Oppression, the *Indians* find Protection from them, and the meanest among them have Justice equally distributed between them, and their *English* Neighbours. This is the State of the *English* Right of *Possession* in the *West-Indies*, a Right founded upon the Principles of Christianity, and the fundamental Laws of the *English* Nation. Few equal to them in Goodness, none excel them.

Happy  
State of the  
*English*  
Settlements.

As for the Pretensions of the *French* Nation on the Continent, they amount to what they are at this present possessed of; which is, the Country of *Canada* on the River *St Lawrence*, and all that Part called the *Louisiana*, or *New France*, on the Banks of the River *Mississippi*, which falls into the Gulf of *Mexico*, from whence they extend towards the Country of *Florida*.

Extent of  
the *French*  
Possessions.

They do not pretend, by what I can learn, to vie with the *English* in Point of Priority of Discovery; nor have they any Room to insist upon any such Thing, since the following List of *Original Discoveries*, shew the Order of

F

Time

Time in which they have been respectively made, and by whom.

*Anno 1497.* The Island of *Newfoundland*, and the North Continent of *America*, in 58 Degrees of Latitude, and coasted from thence to the Southward, as far as the Land of *Florida*, by *Sebastian Cabot*, with two Ships furnished by King *Henry VII.*

*Anno 1524.* The Coast of *Florida*, to almost 58 Degrees of North Latitude, was re-coasted by *John de Verazzano*, a *Florentine*, by order of *Francis I.* King of *France.*

*Anno 1527.* *Cape Briten* was discovered in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* who sent out two Ships to *Newfoundland* at this Time.

*Anno 1534.* *Newfoundland* was the third Time visited by *James Carthier* of *St Malo*, who then discovered the River *St Lawrence.*

English Discoveries prior to those of the French.

The Order of Time, in the foregoing Discoveries, determines, at first View, the *Right* of Precedency; and this is certain, that *Cabot's* Discovery of the Continent was prior to the Discovery made of it by the *Spaniards*, which was not till five Years after *Columbus's* Discovery of the Island of *Cuba*, when *Americus Vespusus* discovered the Continent of *Brasil*, which from him was called *America.*

Reasons for exposing the ill Behaviour of the Spaniards towards the English.

Now that I have concluded this Display of the *Spanish Right* to the *West-Indies*, and, as I hope, made a just Distinction between it, and that of the *English*, according to my first Proposition; I shall, in the next Place, give a View of the Behaviour of the *Spaniards* in that new World; towards such as had the Misfortune to be in their Power; my Intention in this being to demonstrate, by those Acts of Cruelty and Treachery which they have been guilty of towards Fellow-Christians, that they were capable of acting no less against the poor naked *Indians*; and that from the Nature of their Conquests, it is therefore to be presumed, that the Accounts which some late *Historians* have given of their barbarous Treatment of the *Indians* were rather lessened than magnified; since it was in a Manner impossible for those Writers to come at an exact Knowledge of the whole of such their Behaviour, as well on Account of the Distance of the Place of Action, as that the Accounts which they received were transmitted from some of those concerned in those Expeditions,



tions, who, as they could not possibly conceal the whole, revealed only such Part of their Actions as were least blameable; not only for their own Credit's Sake, but to save the Honour of the *Spanish* Nation, which, *maugre* all their Precautions, will never be able to wipe out the Stains of the *Blood* of the *Indians*, but they will still preserve their deepest Dye to all Posterity.

Before that fortunate Discovery, if it may be so called, of *America*, the *Spaniards* were but little regarded in *Europe*; and the greatest Noise they made in the World, was only what resulted from their own civil *Dissentions*, and their Conflicts with the *Moors*, from whom they imbibed some of their worst Principles, such as *Murder*, *Cruelty*, and implacable Desire of *Revenge*. Those of *Jealousy*, *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Ambition* to rule, seem to have been their own natural *Predominants*, but blended with the before-named *Vices*, formed a Composition of Mind capable of disposing them to put in Execution the blackest Devices of *Satan*. The present Extent of the Kingdom of *Old Spain* was divided into petty Kingdoms, now Provinces, such as *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Leon*, &c. among which *Ferdinando* was King of *Castile*, as has been observed before, when *Columbus* commenced his Discoveries; and his Successor *Don Carlos* of *Austria*, in whose Name *Hernan Cortez* addressed the Emperor of *Mexico*, was that most mighty Monarch of the East.

State of the  
*Spaniards*  
before the  
Discovery of  
*America*.

Upon these new Acquisitions of *Cortez*, and the Union of the *Spanish* Monarchy in the Reign of *Don Carlos*; the great Riches which were transmitted from *America* to *Old Spain*, had so elated the *Spaniards*, that then they began to despise all the rest of the World, and presumptuously took upon them to set down the motive Limits of it's Division, in East and West Longitude, between themselves and the *Portuguese*, from the first Meridian of Longitude in one of the *Azores Islands*, respecting all past and future Discoveries; those in the East being allotted to the *Portuguese*, and those in the West to the *Spaniards*. From those Beginnings they entertained great *Jealousies*, according to their natural Disposition, of all neighbouring Nations; especially of those who were any Way formidable at Sea, fearing, and not without Reason, that they should have powerful Competitors in making Discoveries, and in partaking of the beneficial Trade of the *West-Indies*, which they looked upon to be their sole Property: And as none gave them greater Umbrage in this particular than the

Extraordi-  
nary Change  
of Behaviour  
in the *Spaniards*, upon  
the Discovery  
of *America*.

They and  
the *Portu-  
guese* divide  
the World  
between  
them.

Causes of  
their Jeal-  
ously to the  
*English*.

Their gene-  
ral Beha-  
viour to-  
wards the  
*English*.

*English*, because, in fact, they had been beforehand with the *Spaniards* in discovering the Continent, as before related; so none were made to feel the Weight of their Displeasure, with that Shew of their Hatred, as were the *English*, whenever they happened to fall into the other's Hands on the Coasts of *America*, either through the Misfortune of Shipwreck, or by being surprized by the *Spaniards* on Shore, when trading with the Natives: For without any Declaration of War being made between the two Nations in *Europe*, the *Spaniards* always behaved in a hostile Manner towards such of the *English* Subjects as came in their Way in the *West-Indies*, which obliged the latter to make *Reprisals* on the *Spaniards* in that Part of the World; and from hence arose their irreconcilable Hatred to the *English*, which seems rather to be increased than abated. Nor have the *French* escaped tasting of their Inhumanity likewise, when first they attempted to settle on Part of *Florida*, of which I shall give some Instances presently; though of late Years, they are come to a better Understanding together, and, in all likelihood, will attempt to put in Practice that which formerly was only boasted of to be intended by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, that is, to exclude the *English* from reaping any Benefit out of the *West-Indies*, &c. —

The following Particulars of the Mal-Treatment of the *English* by the *Spaniards*, are abstracted out of a Collection of the Journals \* of Voyages made by several Persons to the *West-Indies*; among which, I thought fit not to pass by one or two remarkable Instances of Covetousness, which are thus related.

Anno 1536.  
Antonio Se-  
denno.

Cruel In-  
gratitude.

\* Anno 1536. A Discovery of the rich Country of *Guiana* in *Peru* was attempted by *Antonio Sedenno*, one of those *Spanish* Captains, who had been engaged with *Herera* † and *Augustin Delgado*, in the Conquest of *Trinidad*. He penetrated some Provinces towards it with 500 chosen Men, in which Expedition he got much *Gold*, and took a great many *Indians Prisoners*, whom he led away manacled in Irons, of whom several died by the Way; and the *Tygers* being so much fleshed with their Carcasses, frequently used to attack the *Spaniards*, in so much, that they had enough to do to defend themselves against them. Neither this *Captain*, nor the most Part of his Men, ever returned out of

the

\* Hackluit's Voyages.

† The Historian.

the Country, but perished in it, notwithstanding the Greatness of their Numbers.'

From this Instance it may be reasonably gathered, that the *Indians* were now fully apprized of the covetous Designs of the *Spaniards*, and by frequent bickering with them, had improved in their military Practices; for *Cortez's* Number, with which he first penetrated to *Mexico*, was much inferior to this of *Sedenno's*, and yet he prevailed in the Manner spoken of. The Causes of their different Successes I take to be, that *Cortez* made use more of secret Artifice, than of open Force; whereas *Sedenno* seems to have trusted to his chosen Numbers, with which he thought, comparatively with what *Cortez* had done, to do great Matters; but Providence disappointed him.

Reasons for the different Success of *Sedenno's* and *Cortez's* Enterprizes.

'The same *Delgado*, whom I mentioned just now, afterwards undertook the like Enterprize with fifty-six Soldiers; and, favoured with the Advantage of the Wars then subsisting between the *Indians* of the Vale, and those of the Mountains, he passed a great Way up, until he arrived in the Territories of a *Cazique* named *Garamental*, who entertained him very friendly, and presented him with some rich Jewels of Gold, half a dozen Pages, ten young Slaves, and three beautiful young Women. In *Delgado's* return out of that Country, he plundered the Inhabitants of all the Gold he could find, and seized all the *Indians* that could be laid hold of, and conveyed them in Irons to *Cubagua*, where he sold them for Slaves. Providence did not let this Inhumanity and Ingratitude go long unpunished; for *Delgado* was soon afterwards shot in the Eye by an *Indian*, and died of the Wound.'

*Delgado's* attempt to discover *Guiana*.

His monstrous Cruelty and Ingratitude.

'Anno 1556. Robert Tomson, of Andover in Hampshire, Merchant, together with another Englishman, one John Field, of Seville, having obtained the King of Spain's Licence to go to the *West-Indies*, proceeded accordingly in Company of the *Spanish Fleet*; but their Ship was cast away in the Bay of *Mexico*, and they escaped on Shore naked, and within three Days afterwards arrived at *St John de Ulua*, in *New Spain*, in April 1556, destitute of Apparel, and every Thing else; from whence they went to *La Vera Cruz*, where they were relieved, and clothed by a rich Merchant of *Field's* Acquaintance; their Company being in all eight Persons belonging to *Field's* Family, including *Tomson*. After a Months Stay here, they set out for the City of *Mexico*, and

Robert Tomson's cruel Usage, Anno 1556.

‘ and *Field*, with three or more of his Family, died by  
 ‘ the Way. *Tomson* got into a Gentleman’s Service in  
 ‘ *Mexico*, *Seigneur Gonzalo Cerezo*, with whom he lived  
 ‘ upwards of a Year; at the end of which he was, on  
 ‘ private Accufation, put into Prison. He remained there  
 ‘ seven Months without any Examination, and then was  
 ‘ exposed at an *Auto de Fe*, in the high Church of *Mexico*,  
 ‘ together with one *Augustin Boacio*, an *Italian*, and several  
 ‘ others, having their *Bonitos* \* on their Backs. There  
 ‘ the *Criminals* received their several Sentences of Punish-  
 ‘ ment, viz.

‘ The *Italian* was condemned to wear his *Bonito* for  
 ‘ Life, and to perpetual Imprisonment, with Confiscation of  
 ‘ all his Goods. A MATERIAL ARTICLE! And  
 ‘ *Tomson* was to suffer the like for three Years. For the  
 ‘ Accomplishment of this, they were immediately trans-  
 ‘ mitted in Irons to the Port of *St John de Ulua*, in order  
 ‘ to be transported to *Old Spain*, to be there delivered up  
 ‘ to the *Inquisitors* of *Seville*, for the fulfilling of their  
 ‘ Sentences: But the *Italian* fortunately made his Escape  
 ‘ at the Island of *Tercera*, and *Tomson* was carried to *Se-  
 ‘ ville*, where he suffered according to his Sentence.’

Wicked Po-  
 licy.

As there was no just Foundation for this Proceeding,  
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Massacre of  
*Laudonni-  
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 Anno 1565.

‘ In the Year 1565, Captain *René Laudonniere* being  
 ‘ settled with a Party of *Frenchmen*, by Order of their  
 ‘ King, on the Coast of *Florida*, they were surprized in  
 ‘ their Fort, on the 20th of *September*, by a strong Party  
 ‘ of *Spaniards*, under the Command of *Don Pedro Me-  
 ‘ lendes*, who arrived on the Coast about three Weeks be-  
 ‘ fore that, with six great Ships from *Old Spain*, and  
 ‘ erected a Fort hard by; and having killed several of the  
 ‘ *Frenchmen*, they took others Prisoners, and, in cold  
 ‘ Blood, banged them up upon several Trees, and put the  
 ‘ following *Inscription*, in writing, over them, viz. *I do  
 ‘ not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto Pyrates*. Captain  
 ‘ *Laudonniere*, and some few of his Company escaped,  
 ‘ and got into Boats, and so got off to Sea to one of their  
 ‘ Ships, and returned into *France*. This Piece of Inhu-  
 ‘ manity

\* A Kind of Fool’s Coat, with the Figure of *St Andrew’s Cross*, and  
 painted with Figures of Devils, &c.



'manly was sufficiently revenged on the Spaniards by  
 'one Captain Gourgues, the Year following; who, at  
 'his own Charge, mann'd out three Ships with 150 Sol-  
 'diers, and fourscore Mariners, and, arriving in Florida,  
 'where he was joined by the Natives, who complained  
 'heavily of the Outrages of the Spaniards towards them,  
 'he surprized, and took the three Forts which the latter  
 'had erected on the River of May, in which they had  
 'four hundred Men distributed. He put them all to the <sup>Justly re-</sup>  
 'Sword, except fifteen, whom he hanged up on the same <sup>venged.</sup>  
 'Trees whereon the Frenchmen had been hanged; and, in  
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This Resolution of the French Nation to use the Spa-  
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 ties, &c. acted towards them by the Spaniards, of which  
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'In the Year 1568, Sir John Hawkins, of Plymouth, Treachery  
 'undertook a Voyage, with six Ships, for the Coasts of of a Spanish  
 'Guinea and the West-Indies; and having suffered greatly Vice-Roy,  
 'by Storms, and being in want of Provisions, they were Anno 1568.  
 'forced to put into the Port of St John de Ulua, in the  
 'Gulph of Mexico, where the Spanish Fleet being then ex-  
 'pected, the Towns-people supposed these to be the same;  
 'thereupon, some of the principal Men of the Town  
 'came on Board the English Ships, where finding their  
 'Mistake, they were much surprized at first, but perceiv-  
 'ing that the English required nothing else but Victuals for  
 'their Money, they were easy. At the same Time there  
 'were twelve Spanish Vessels in the Harbour, which had  
 'on Board two hundred thousand Pounds in Gold and Silver;  
 'all which Sir John suffered to be landed, and only de-  
 'tained two Persons of Esteem as Hostages for his Messen-  
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 'Mexico, which was two hundred Miles off, for Licence  
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Wicked Policy.

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 'Philip

Philip of Spain; and to obtain an Order, that at the  
 Arrival of the *Spanish Fleet*, which was daily expected,  
 there might a good Understanding and Friendship be  
 maintained between *them* and the *English Fleet*. On  
 the next Day after dispatching the *Courier to Mexico*,  
 the *Spanish Fleet*, being thirteen great *Ships*, appeared at  
 the Mouth of the Harbour; whereupon Sir *John* dis-  
 patched a Messenger to the Commander of the *Spanish*  
*Fleet*, to let him understand, that before he entered the  
*Port*, which he could not pretend to do against Sir *John*  
*Hawkins's* Consent, because of the narrow Passage into  
 it, it was necessary to ascertain Conditions of Peace to  
 be kept between the two *Fleets*. Sir *John* chose to run  
 the Risk of what might ensue, in Case the *Spaniards*  
 should, according to Custom, be guilty of any Acts of  
*Treachery*, rather than inevitably to be the Cause of  
 their Destruction by Shipwreck, should he keep the  
 Harbour against them, there being no other Port of  
 Safety upon all the Coast thereabouts. The Messenger  
 returned from the *Spanish Fleet* with an Account, that a  
 new *Vice-Roy* from Spain, *Don Martin de Henriquez*,  
 was on Board, who, having then the sole Authority,  
 by Sea and Land, in those Parts, sent Word to Sir *John*  
 to send his Conditions, and that on *his Part* they should  
 be favourably granted and performed; at the same Time  
 saying, He had heard along the Coast, of the *honourable*  
*Behaviour* of the *English*, both there, and in the Port.  
 Sir *John* however sent his Conditions, which were rati-  
 fied by the *Vice-Roy*, under his *Hand* and *Seal*, within  
 three Days, and which were, That the *English* should  
 be furnished with Victuals for their Money, and *Licence*  
 to sell as much Wares as would supply their Wants.  
 That ten Hostages on each Side should be given; and,  
 during the abode there of the *English*, they should re-  
 main in Possession of the *Island*, which forms that Har-  
 bour, and of the *Ordnance* that was planted in it, which  
 was eleven *Pieces* of Brass; and that no *Spaniard* should  
 land in the *Island* with any Kind of *Weapon*. After  
 Conclusion of the Articles, Notice was given, by Sound  
 of Trumpet, to keep the Peace upon Pain of Death  
 on either Side. Hereupon, the *Spanish Fleet* entered the  
 Port on Monday the twentieth of September, and each  
 Side saluted the other as usual. The Officers and Men  
 of each Fleet spent the two ensuing Days in placing the  
 respective *Ships* of each Fleet by themselves; but the

Spaniards



Spaniards had, it seems, resolved to fall upon the *English*  
 the next *Thursday* at Noon. In the mean Time it was  
 observed, that they had received a Supply of a *thousand*  
*Men* from the main Land, and on *Thursday* Morning  
 they were seen to be shifting of Weapons from Ship to  
 Ship, planting and bending of *Ordnance* from their Ships  
 to the Island where the *English* kept a Guard; and  
 several Companies of Men, more than was necessary for  
 Business, passing to and fro. This Behaviour causing  
 great Suspicion in the *English*, Sir *John* sent to the *Vice-*  
*Roy* to know the meaning of it, to which he answered;  
 That he would be their Defence from all *Villanies*; and  
 thereupon sent immediate Order for removing all Things  
 suspicious. But Sir *John* not being satisfied with this  
 Answer, as suspecting a great Number of Men to be  
 concealed in a great Ship of 900 Tons, which was  
 moored next to the *Minion*, an *English* Ship, sent the  
 Master of the *Jesus*, another of his Ships, to the *Vice-*  
*Roy*, to be satisfied whether the Fact was so or not.  
 The *Vice-Roy* now perceiving that the *Treason* must be  
 discovered, detained the Master, blew the Trumpet for  
 a Signal, and on all Sides set upon the *English*. Such  
 of those last as were in the Island, endeavoured to get  
 on Board their Ships for Refuge and Succour, but the  
 Spaniards being provided aforehand, suddenly landed  
 Multitudes, in all Places, from their Ships, and killed  
 all the *English* that were on Shore without Mercy, ex-  
 cept a few that escaped on Board the *Jesus*. The three  
 hundred Men, that were hid in the great Ship, attacked  
 the *Minion*, but were repulsed, and she got clear of  
 them. Then they attacked the *Jesus*, as likewise did  
 the two other *Spanish* Ships at the same Time; but she  
 likewise got clear of them with great Difficulty, and  
 Loss of several of her Men. Then the *Minion* and  
*Jesus* cannonaded the *Spanish* Ships, and within an Hour's  
 Time, it was supposed that they sunk the *Admiral*, and  
 another great Ship, and burnt the *Vice-Admiral*, so that  
 they could receive but little Annoyance from the *Spanish*  
 Ships. In the mean Time the Spaniards possessed them-  
 selves of all the Guns in the Island, with which they  
 cut the Masts and Yards of the *Jesus*, in so much, that  
 there was no Hopes of carrying her away, and sunk the  
 small Ships. Then they sent two *Fire-Ships* towards  
 the *English* Vessels with the Current, upon which the  
*Minion's* Crew put off with their Ship, and left the

‘ *Jefus*, and feveral of her Men, to the *Mercy* of the  
‘ *Spaniards*.

‘ The General, Sir *John Hawkins*, with Difficulty,  
‘ got into the *Minion*, and having then two hundred  
‘ Men on Board, put to Sea in a fhattered Condition,  
‘ and fuffered extremely for want of Viſuals for the Space  
‘ of fourteen Days. At laſt, having, at the Deſire of his  
‘ Men, ſet an hundred and fourteen of them on Shore,  
‘ in the Bottom of the Bay of *Mexico*, he, with much  
‘ Difficulty, arrived in *England* the twenty-fifth of *Ja-*  
‘ *nuary* following.’

The further Cruelty of the *Spaniards* will appear in the  
following Account of ſome of the ſame Crew, that were  
ſet aſhore as above-mentioned, as related by *Miles Phillips*,  
Sailor, and *Job Hartop*, Gunner, belonging to the Ship  
*Jefus*.

Cruel Uſage  
to the En-  
gliſh Priſo-  
ners,

‘ This ſorlorn Company of Men travelled through the  
‘ Country Northwards, for the Space of ſeven Days, be-  
‘ fore they arrived at the River *Panuco*, and in their  
‘ Way were ſet upon ſeveral Times by the *Indians*, who,  
‘ at firſt, miſtaking them for *Spaniards*, killed Nine of  
‘ the Company, and ſtripped thoſe quite naked who wore  
‘ any coloured Clothes; in which Condition, the remain-  
‘ der that ſurvived, were taken by a Party of *Spaniards*  
‘ at that River, by whom they were conducted *Prisoners*  
‘ to the Village of *Panuco*, about a Mile diſtant from  
‘ where they were taken. On their Arrival there, the  
‘ Governor threatened to hang them all, and uſed them  
‘ with great *Severity*, having firſt taken from the Men,  
‘ who had any Money left, all that was found upon  
‘ them; after which he ordered them into a little Houſe  
‘ like a *Hog-Stye*, where they had like to be ſmothered,  
‘ being kept there for three Days. Such as were wounded  
‘ by the *Indians*, begged the Aſſiſtance of the *Surgeons*,  
‘ but were reſuſed it, the Governor and others telling  
‘ them, they were *Engliſh Dogs*, and that the Hangman  
‘ ſhould ſoon eaſe them of their Pains. On the fourth  
‘ Day after, they were all bound with new Halters two  
‘ and two, and in that Manner were conducted to the City  
‘ of *Mexico*, ninety Leagues diſtant, under a Guard of  
‘ *Spaniards* and *Indians* all armed. This Guard was  
‘ commanded by two *Spaniards*, one was a pretty antient  
‘ and courteous Man, but the other a young Fellow,  
‘ void of all Humanity, who frequently knocked down the  
‘ poor Men with his Javelin, if they did not haſten their

‘ March

March according to his Mind, and reviled them in  
*Spanish*, saying, *Marchad, marchad Ingleses Perros*, which  
 is, *March, march on, you English Dogs*. Being arrived at  
*Mexico*, they were confined in an Hospital, where they  
 found several others of their Countrymen, who had  
 been taken *Prisoners* at the Fight at *St John de Ulna*.  
 In the mean Time the *Vice-Roy*, who was the same that  
 acted so treacherously by Sir *John Hawkins*, used all  
 possible Devices to have them all *hanged*, but the *Clergy*  
 and the Council would not consent to it; upon which,  
 after their being six Months in *Mexico*, he ordered them  
 all to be sent to the Town of *Testuco*, eight Leagues  
 from thence, there to be kept *Prisoners* to hard Labour  
 in the *Obraches*, Places not unlike the Houses of Cor-  
 rection here in *England*, where they were almost fa-  
 mished. There they continued two Months, until some  
 of them having broke Prison, and being re-taken, they  
 were all sent back to *Mexico*, and kept at Labour in the  
*Vice-Roy's* Garden for four Months. Here they found  
 the *English Gentlemen* who were given for Hostages at  
*St John de Ulna*; also *Robert Barret*, the Master of the  
 Ship *Jesus*. At the four Months end, those *Gentlemen*  
 and *Barret* were removed to a *Prison* in the *Vice-Roy's*  
 House, from whence he sent *Anthony Goddard*, and  
 some others of the *English Prisoners*, home to *Old Spain*,  
 with *Luçon* the General that took them *Prisoners*. In  
 two Years afterwards, viz. in 1570, he sent *Job Hartop*,  
*Thomas Barret*, *William Cawse*, *John Beare*, *Edward*  
*Rider*, *Geoffrey Giles*, and *Richard*, the Master's Boy, to-  
 gether with the *Gentlemen* that were Hostages, to *Old*  
*Spain* likewise, under the Care of *Don Juan de Velasco de*  
*Varre*, General of the *Spanish Fleet*; where I shall leave  
 them in their Voyage, and return to give an Account  
 of the Disposition which was made of *Phillips*, *Tomson*,  
 and others, who were detained in *Mexico*: For, in Con-  
 clusion, what befel those in *Mexico*, and in *Old Spain*,  
 is very *tragical*; but the Scene being now divided,  
 obliges me likewise to divide the Relation of it accord-  
 ingly.

The Reason for this Division of the *Prisoners* seems to  
 be, that the *Vice-Roy* of *Mexico* having used his Endeav-  
 ours to take away their Lives, under Colour of Law,  
 and being disappointed, resolved to effect it, if possible, by  
 the Help of the *Inquisition*. For that Purpose he caused  
 them to pass an Examination with the *Clergy*, and such as

could any Way be charged with what they called *Heresy*, were reserved for *Judgment* and *Execution* in *Mexico*; but such as they could not entrap with their Questions, were sent into *Old Spain*, to the *Inquisition* at *Seville*; and this was the real Cause of their Separation.

When the Prisoners were removed from the *Viceroy's* House, at the end of the four Months before-mentioned, they that were destined to abide in *Mexico*, were, by Proclamation, delivered over in *Slavery* to such Gentlemen as pleased to take them, upon Condition of their being bound to have them forth coming before the *Justices*, in a Month after Notice given; among which Number was *Miles Phillips*.

Those Prisoners thus disposed of, lived very comfortably for three or four Years, their Employ being to wait on their Masters Persons, for no *Spaniard* will be Servant to another in that Country, and to oversee the *Negroes* in the Mines; in which Services, several of them grew rich, each Man's Wages being 300 *Pezos* a Year, which is to the Amount of *Sixty Pounds Sterling*, besides several Advantages which accrued to them out of the Mines; so that some of them were worth three or four thousand *Pezos* a Man. Thus they continued in a very happy Situation, until the *Inquisition* called upon them in the Year 1574; at which Time, it being fully established in *Mexico*, very much against the Inclination of the Inhabitants, the poor *Englishmen* were, by this Time, after six Years Bondage, thought to be grown rich enough to be made *Prizes* of, and to prevent their carrying any of the Wealth of the Country out of it.

The chief *Inquisitor* was *Don Pedro Moya de Contreras*, *John de Bovilla* his Companion, *John Sanchez* the Fiscal, and *Pedro de los Rios* the Secretary. A Proclamation being issued out for all *Englishmen*, to be sent forthwith to *Mexico* in safe Custody, under severe Penalties; they were soon picked up, and all their Effects seized to the *Inquisitor's* Use, and the Men were distributed into several loathsome dark Dungeons in *Mexico*, by two in a Place, without ever being suffered to see one another, or to know what became of their Companions for a Year and a half; within which Time they were often examined, as *Miles Phillips* has since learned, for he now speaks for himself, before the *Inquisitors* only, and closely questioned about *Transubstantiation*, whereunto

*Phillips*



‘ *Phillips* and some others answered according to the Belief of their Examiners, or otherwise nothing but certain Death would have ensued. About three Months before the *Inquisitors* proceeded to Judgment, the Prisoners were cruelly racked and tortured, and some were forced to charge themselves, by *Confession*, with that which afterwards cost them their Lives. For the *Inquisitors* wanted to make some Examples of Severity, and thus pitched upon the poor innocent *Englishmen* to be the Objects of their Cruelty.

‘ When that Court was thus prepared with *Victims*,  
 ‘ they proceeded to Judgment and Execution, on a Scaffold in the midst of the City, in great Formality, where the following Sentences were pronounced, and put in Execution, viz.

71 *Englishmen* condemned by the *Inquisition* at *Mexico*.

‘ 1. *Roger*, the chief Armourer of the Ship *Jesus*, to receive three hundred *Stripes* on Horseback, and to continue a *Slave* in the *Gallies* for ten Years. 2. *John Gray*; 3. *John Browne*; 4. *John Rider*; 5. *John Moon*; 6. *James Collier*; and 7. *Thomas Browne*, to receive two hundred *Stripes* each, on Horseback, and to remain *Slaves* in the *Gallies* for eight Years.

‘ 8. *John Keyes*, to have one hundred *Stripes* on Horseback, and to serve in the *Gallies* for six Years.

‘ Then fifty-three others were called severally, and received the like Judgments, some more and some less.

‘ 62. *Miles Phillips* to serve in a Monastery five Years without *Stripes*, and to wear a *Benito*, or Fool’s Coat, all the Time.

‘ 63. *John Story*; 64. *Richard Williams*; 65. *David Alexander*; 66. *Robert Cooke*; 67. *Paul Horfswell*; and 68. *Thomas Hull*, to serve in Monasteries without *Stripes*, some for three and some for four Years, and to wear the *Benito* during the Time.

‘ 69. *George Rively*; 70. *Peter Mamfrie*; and 71. *Cornelius*, an *Irishman*, were sentenced to be burned to Ashes, which was instantly executed.

‘ The rest were carried back to the *Prisons*, and next Day received their Lashes accordingly; being carried naked from the middle upwards throughout the City, and whipped with long *Whips* as they went along the Streets, being preceded by some of the *Inquisitors*, and two *Criers*; which last proclaimed their being *English Dogs*, *Lutherans*, *Enemies to God*, whilst the *Inquisitors* ordered

ordered the Executioners to lay on, and strike those English Heretics. After this, such as were condemned to the Gallies were sent into Old Spain for that Purpose, and Miles Phillips, with the other Six that were condemned to Servitude in Monasteries, were accordingly, disposed of in Mexico, till they served out their respective Terms.

Miles Phillips afterwards made his Escape out of the Country, on the South-Sea Side, in a Spanish Ship, and got to Old Spain, and thence home to England, in February 1582.

Job Hartop,  
&c. in  
Spain.

I shall now proceed to relate Job Hartop's Fate, with some of those that were sent with him into Old Spain.

Anno 1570.

In the Year 1570, the Fleet sailed from St John de Ulna, and being arrived at St Lucar in Spain, Hartop and the other Prisoners were sent to the Contratation-House in Seville; from whence, after a Year's Imprisonment, six others, with Hartop, made their Escapes; but five of them, of which Hartop was one, were retaken, and were secured in Iron-Stocks for a Fortnight. Then they were removed to the great Prison-House in Seville, and after a Month's Confinement there, were removed to the Castle of the Inquisition-House in Triana, where they continued a whole Year; at the end of which they were brought out to an Auto de Fe in Seville, to receive their several Judgments, which were thus pronounced.

Eight Englishmen  
condemned  
by the In-  
quisition at  
Seville.

1. Robert Barret \*, and 2. John Gilbert, were sentenced to be burnt to Ashes, which was immediately executed.

3. Job Hartop, and 4. John Bone, were condemned to the Gallies for ten Years; after that, to be brought to the Inquisition-House, to have the Benito put on their Backs, and from thence to perpetual Imprisonment without Remedy.

5. Thomas Marks, and 6. Thomas Ellis, to serve in the Gallies eight Years, and 7. Humphrey Roberts, and 8. John Emery, to serve in the same five Years. After this they were carried back to the same Prison, and next Day, Job Hartop, and the rest, were sent to the Gallies, where they were chained four and four together. Their daily Allowance was twenty-six Ounces of

\* The Master of the Ship Jesus, who was detained by the Vice-Roy, when sent to him on a Message by Sir John Hawkins, at St John de Ulna, 1568.

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coarse black *Biscuit* and Water. Their yearly Clothing was two Shirts each, two Pair of coarse Canvas Breeches, a red Coat of coarse Cloath, and a Gown of Hair with a Frier's Hood. Their Lodging was on the bare Boards, and the Banks of the Gallies. Their Heads and Beards were shaved once a Month; and for *Hunger, Thirst, Cold, and Stripes*, they never were in want of. *Hartop* served twelve Years in the Gallies, being two Years above his Time prescribed, at the end of which he was sent to the *Inquisition-House* in *Seville* again, where he put on the *Benito*, and was sent to the *everlasting Prison*, where he remained four Years, and, by great Interest, upon paying fifty *Ducats*, obtained his Enlargement, but served *Hernando de Soria*, the Treasurer of the King's Mint, for the Term of seven Years, in Return for his lending him the fifty Crowns. He afterwards got off at *St Lucar*, on Board an *English Ship*, in *December 1590*, and returned to *England*, after suffering twenty-three Years in the Manner afore-mentioned; where, on his Arrival, he was sent by Mr *Muns*, the Lieutenant of *Portsmouth*, to the *Earl of Suffex*, who ordered his *Secretary* to take his Examination in Writing of the whole as before-related.

How the Prisoners were used in the Gallies.

*Hartop* twenty-three Years in Bondage.

After this Manner have the *Spaniards* behaved towards the *English*, from Time to Time, ever since the *Discovery of America*, hoping, by this Usage, to deter the latter from pursuing their *Discoveries* in that Part of the World; and in such Cases where, through Misfortunes of Shipwreck, or other Accidents, the *English* have unhappily fallen into their Hands, and that there was no lawful Colour for immediately depriving them of their Lives or Liberties, there was no Difficulty in compassing one or other of those Ends in the Court of *Inquisition*; which is the Reason why so few of our Sailors are ever heard of more, after being taken by the *Spaniards*. But when they saw that it availed not, but that the *English* were the more, and but justly, exasperated against them, they then turned their Thoughts on making great Preparations for an Invasion on *England*, in Hopes to destroy them all at once, which, tho' not attempted until the Month of *July 1588*, yet the Scheme was formed for a considerable Time before; and, considering the great Numbers of Men and Ships which were prepared for that Expedition, it is not to be wondered at why they begun their Armament so long before-hand: For, at that Time, there was no War declared

Why the *Spaniards* are so cruel to the *English*.

The Cause of the *Spanish Invasion*, which was intended, *Anno 1588*.

Secrecy of  
the intended  
Invasion.

Hypocrisy  
of Spain.

The Spanish  
Armada en-  
tirely de-  
feated the  
29th of  
July 1588.

declared between the two Kingdoms; and, till Queen *Elizabeth* had received Advice from the King of *France*, so late as in the latter end of the Month of *May* 1588, (which was six Weeks before the Arrival of the Spanish Fleet in the *English* Channel,) it was for the most Part believed that the Blow was designed against *Holland*; for in order to carry on the greater *Diffimulation* with *England*, and to amuse them, a Treaty of mutual Peace and Commerce was set on Foot by the Court of *Spain* with *England*, and a solemn Meeting appointed at *Borboch* in *Flanders*, to conclude upon all Matters; whilst, in the mean Time, the King of *Spain* was contriving all possible Means for their utter Destruction.

The Contributions of the Spanish *Grandeess*, and others, towards completing that Armament, were very great; for it was such a Fleet as the like never was before, nor since, set out by any Prince; the Memory of which deserves to be eternized, not for it's *Exploits*, but for it's wonderful *Defeat*, through the Assistance of Providence; the Winds and the Sea seeming to have fought against it, since out of one hundred and fifty Ships of War, there returned home to *Spain* but fifty-three; the rest being sunk, burnt, or cast away, upon the neighbouring Coasts.

But to give a nearer View of this Armament in the Shape it was set out, and furnished by the respective Auxiliaries, I have here represented the whole in as concise a Method as I could frame.

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A LIST of the several Kinds of Ships, together with the Number of Mariners, Soldiers, Galley-Slaves, Ordnance, and Quantity of Munition, Provisions, and Military Stores, furnished by the King of Spain, the Duke of Parma, and other Auxiliaries, towards completing the great Armada, fitted out for the intended Invasion and Conquest of England and Holland, in the Reign of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Anno 1588; under the Command of Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, General; and John Martines de Ricalde, Admiral of the Fleet.

## QUOTAS,

## Furnished by the King.

Under the Conduct  
of John Lopez de  
Medina. - - - - - }  
Under Hugo de Moncada. }  
Under Diego de Man- }  
drana. - - - - - }  
Under Antonie de }  
Mendoza. - - - - - }

Furnished by Auxilia-  
ries.

By Portugal. Under }  
the Duke of Me- }  
dina Sidonia. }  
Biscay. Under John }  
Martines de Ri- }  
calde, Admiral. - }  
Guipusco. Under Mi- }  
chael de Oquendo. - }  
Italy, with the Le- }  
vant Islands. Un- }  
der Martine de Ver- }  
tendona. - - - - - }  
Castile. Under Diego }  
Flores de Valdes. }  
Andaluzia. Under }  
Petro de Valdes. }

Galeons.	Gallyasses.	Flemish Hulks.	Patachaes.	Zabraes.	Gallies.	Caravels for Tenders.	Great Ord- nance.	Mariners.	Soldiers.	Galley- Slaves.
		23					400	700	3200	—
	4						200	460	870	1200
					4		20	360	—	888
			22				193	574	488	—
10				2			300	1300	3300	—
10		4					250	700	2000	—
10		4					310	700	2000	—
10							310	800	2000	—
14		2					380	1700	2400	—
10		1					280	800	2400	—
64	4	23	33	2	4	20				
Shipping of all Kinds 150.							2643	8094	18658	2088
							Total of the above			
							28840.			

Totals.

Besides Noblemen, Gentlemen-Volunteers, and others, which in all completed 32000 Persons; not forgetting the Court of Inquisition, Clergy, Physicians, Apothecaries, Surgeons, &c. And besides the Artillery for Land-Service, and Instruments for Pioneers.

Ammunition, and Provisions, &c.

Cannon-Ball	—	—	—	—	—	120000
Quintals of	{	Gun-Powder	—	—	—	5600
		Match	—	—	—	1200
Muskets and Calievers	—	—	—	—	—	7000
Halberts and Partisans	—	—	—	—	—	10000

Besides Horses, Mules, Carts, Waggon, &c.

Biscuit, Quintals	—	—	—	—	—	100000
Bacon, Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	6500
Cheese, Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	3000
Pipes of	{	Wine	—	—	—	147000
		Fresh Water	—	—	—	12000

Besides Fish, Rice, Beans, Pease, Oil, Vinegar, &c.

The Duke of Parma's Preparations in the Low-Countries.

He had a Canal made in *Flanders* called *Yper-lee*, in order to transport Ships from *Antwerp* and *Ghent* to *Bruges*, and to the Sea by Way of *Sluys*, or to any of the Ports in *Flanders* by that Canal.

For this Service he had stored with Victuals, and all Necessaries, above	—	—	}	100	Hoys
In the River <i>Waten</i> , flat-bottomed Ships to carry 30 Horses each, with boarding and landing Bridges.	—	—			
At <i>Nieuport</i> for the same Service, but somewhat smaller	—	—	}	200	}
At <i>Dunkirk</i> , Ships of War	—	—			
					398
				28	

The Land-Army; besides Horses, Saddles, and all Furniture, &c.

Near <i>Nieuport</i>	—	—	Foot	5600	} 20900
Near <i>Dixmude</i>	—	—	—	11300	
Suburbs of Cortreight, Horsemen	—	—	—	4000	
At <i>Waten</i> 900 Horses, besides the Troop of the Marquis <i>de Gwaeste</i> , Captain-General of the Horse.					

The

The Intention of the *Spanish* Fleet, according to their King's Orders, was to wait in the Channel near *Dunkirk*, till joined by the Duke of *Parma's* Forces; but in this they were disappointed, for the *Dutch* kept so strict a Watch with their Ships on the Duke of *Parma's*, that he never attempted to come out.

The *Spanish* Fleet entered the *English* Channel the 19th of *July*, and by the 29th passed by *Dunkirk*, being encountered every Day by the *English* Fleet, from the Time of their entering the Channel, until such as escaped the Destruction betook themselves to open Flight, on the 29th of *July*, up the North Sea by *Scotland*; upon the Coasts of which, and of *Ireland*, several of them were shipwreck'd.

Defeat of  
the *Spanish*  
Armada.

Thus ended this intended Invasion, and *invincible* Armada of *Spain*; which, could the like be now revived, *England* would soon be a Witness of their open Attempts to conquer her, as she has had Reason for Years past, nay, ever since, to be sensible of their private Designs and Endeavours, to do her People all possible Mischief, it being observable, that Malice grows stronger, as the Power of being reveng'd grows weaker.

The secret, and long Preparations, in fitting out this vast Armament, in Time of Peace, ought for ever to warn the *English*, and every other Nation besides, against trusting to any Declarations of Friendship, or outward Shew of pacific Behaviour from *Spain*, which will always seem to be redoubled, when the most pernicious Designs are in View; wherefore, *England* may justly be thought to be in more Safety, when the other declares herself an open Enemy every where, than when she pretends to be a Friend in *Europe*, at the same Time that she acts like an Alligator in *America*.

Ought to be  
a future  
Warning to  
*England*.

For further Instances of the Treachery and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* in *America*, I shall proceed according to order of Time, as hitherto.

' Captain *Whiddon*, who, in the Year 1595, accompanied Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Discovery of *Guiana*, happening to be at the Island of *Trinidad* the Year before, viz. 1594, left his Pinnace at *Puerto de los Espanoles*, to go seek for an *English* Ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, which he heard had arrived at the Island the Day before, from the *East-Indies*. In his Absence, Don *Antonio de Berreo*, the Governor of *Trinidad*, sent a Canoe aboard the Pinnace, only with *Indians* and Dogs,

Anno 1594.  
*Berreos*'  
Treachery  
to Captain  
*Whiddon's*  
Men at *Trinidad*.

‘ to invite the Company to go with them into the Woods  
 ‘ to kill a Deer, which the Men foolishly complied with;  
 ‘ but they were no sooner about half Musket-shot Di-  
 ‘ stance from the landing Place, but they were surprized  
 ‘ by an *Ambuscade* of the Governor’s Soldiers, who killed  
 ‘ them all, being eight in Number; tho’ the Governor  
 ‘ had promised Captain *Whiddon*, at his Departure, that  
 ‘ the Men should freely have Wood and Water with  
 ‘ Safety.

1595.  
 The like to  
 Sir Walter  
 Raleigh.

‘ The Year following, viz. 1595, when Sir *Walter*  
 ‘ *Raleigh* touched at the same Island of *Trinidad*, in his  
 ‘ Way toward *Guiana*, he had further Confirmations of  
 ‘ *Berreos* Treachery and Inhumanity; for though he  
 ‘ feigned a friendly Behaviour towards Sir *Walter*, yet he  
 ‘ gave Orders throughout the Island, that, upon Pain of  
 ‘ Death, no *Indian* should come on Board to trade with  
 ‘ the *Englishmen*, and had two of them executed for it;  
 ‘ and likewise he sent for a Reinforcement of Soldiers to  
 ‘ *Margarita* and *Cumana*, in order to give Sir *Walter* a  
 ‘ Farewel at parting; but Sir *Walter* was before-hand  
 ‘ with him, both in Revenge of his present Dealing, and  
 ‘ his former Treachery to Captain *Whiddon*, for he took  
 ‘ and burnt his Town of *St Joseph*, and brought away  
 ‘ *Berreos* Prisoner. During Sir *Walter*’s being there, the  
 ‘ *Indians* used to steal on Board his Ship every Night,  
 ‘ and make heavy Complaints of *Berreos*’ Usage towards  
 ‘ them, how he divided the Land among his Soldiers, and  
 ‘ made the *Caziques*, or antient Lords, to be their Slaves.  
 ‘ That he kept them in Chains, and dropped their naked  
 ‘ Bodies with burning Bacon, and such other Torments;  
 ‘ of which Sir *Walter* was convinced when he took the  
 ‘ Town, for he found five of those Lords in one Chain,  
 ‘ almost dead of Famine, and wasted with Torments.’

*Berreos*’  
 Cruelty to  
 the *Indians*.

It would swell this Work to a large Volume, should I  
 relate any more of those cruel Transactions, of which too  
 many have, from Time to Time, happened since the  
 Discovery of *America*; but, I hope, that the few here  
 quoted out of the vast Number that have been committed,  
 will influence the present Generation to desist from such  
 inhuman Practices, without obliging our Countrymen to  
 Acts of Retaliation, in order to put an entire Stop to  
 them, if nothing else shall be found to prevail; therefore  
 I shall conclude with setting forth the Declaration of  
*Oliver Cromwell* against *Spain*, which will still corroborate  
 what has been already urged against the *Spaniards*, in  
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Behalf of the *English* Nation, this being an exact Translation from the *Latin* Original, published in the Year 1655, viz.

*Scriptum Domini Protectoris Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Declaration  
Hiberniæ, &c. ex consensu atque Sententia Concilii sui E- by Oliver  
ditum: in quo hujus Reipublicæ Causa contra Hispanos justa Cromwell  
esse demonstratur. 1655. against  
Spain, Anno  
1655.*

The Declaration of the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of *England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.* by the Advice and Consent of his Council, wherein the Justice of the Common-Wealth's Cause against the *Spaniards* is manifested. 1655.

EVERY Body may easily understand, that the Reasons which induced us lately to attack certain Islands in the *West-Indies*, formerly possessed by the *Spaniards*, were both just and reasonable, when they only reflect, how that King and his Subjects have always behaved towards the *English* Nation in that Tract of *America*, which has been in no other than an hostile Manner; and which as it's Foundation was unjust, so it has been continued from that Time forward upon the same Footing, contrary to the common Right of Nations, and particular Treaties subsisting between *England* and *Spain*.

It is true, indeed, that of late Years, the *English* have commonly borne those Injuries with Patience, or else have been upon the Defensive only: From whence it may possibly be construed by some, as if that late Expedition of our Fleet to the *West-Indies* was a War begun by us without Provocation, and not as the Truth is, which the *Spaniards* themselves had first begun and raised, and have hitherto prosecuted with their utmost Vigour; and tho' this Common-Wealth did it's utmost to establish Peace and Commerce in those Parts, they, as often as Opportunity serves, without any just Cause or Provocation received, cease not to kill, massacre, and sometimes, even in cold Blood, to butcher such of our People as they think fit, stripping them of their Fortunes and Effects, laying waste their Colonies and Habitations, taking whatever Ships they meet with in those Seas, and treating them as Enemies, or rather Pyrates; for they brand all others, except those of their own Nation, with that opprobrious Name, who dare

dare to navigate those Seas. Nor do they know of any other or better Right for so doing, than that of I know not what Donation from the Pope, and of their being the first Discoverers of some certain Parts of that western Coast, by which Name and Title they insist upon solely having an entire Right to, and the universal Dominion of, that new World; of which very absurd Title we shall speak more fully in it's Place, when we come to examine the Reasons for the *Spaniards* committing all Kinds of Hostilities against our People there, even so far as to imagine it lawful for them, if any are driven on those Coasts by Storms, Shipwreck, or any such like Accident, not only to clap them in Irons, as Prisoners, but even to make them Slaves; whilst they, nevertheless, deem the Peace to be broken by the *English* in *Europe*, if these latter, in their Turn, attempt any Reparation, or Retaliation on the *Spaniards* in those Places.

But notwithstanding the King of *Spain's* Ambassadors at our Court, confiding in a *Spanish* Faction which always had great Influence in the Councils of the late King, and of his Father, did not hesitate at making unjust and ridiculous Complaints and Demands on the most trifling Occasions, if the *English* did any Thing of this Kind; yet those Kings, though too much in the *Spanish* Interest, would not tie up their Subjects Hands, where the *Spaniards* thought their own ought to be at Liberty: Nay, they permitted them to repel Force by Force, and to hold such *Spaniards* for Enemies in those Places, as by no Means could be brought to keep the Peace; so far, that about the Year 1640, when this Matter was debated in the Council of the late King, and that the *Spanish* Ambassador requested that some Ships, then in the River's Mouth, ready to sail for *America*, should be stopped, on Account of their having Letters of Marque against the *Spaniards* in those Parts, he at the same Time refusing to the *English* a Right of trading to the *West-Indies*, which was asked by certain of the King's Council appointed for that Purpose; those Ships were permitted to proceed on their intended Voyage, which they did accordingly.

Thus far the aforesaid Kings protected their Subjects in the War they had entered upon in those Parts for their own private Interest; nevertheless, on Account of the Influence of the *Spanish* Faction above-mentioned, they would not, as they ought, and as was worthy of the former Credit of the Nation, publicly espouse their Cause;

and

and certainly it had been equally scandalous and reproachful in us, having, by God's Permission, so many Men of War well equipped, and in Readiness, to have rather let them idly perish by the Worms at home, rather than Revenge the *English*; why may I not likewise say, the Blood of the *Indians*, so unjustly, so inhumanly, and so often spilt by the *Spaniards* in those Places? Forasmuch as God has made of one Blood all Nations of Men, to dwell on the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitations. And certainly God, in whatever Time, and by whatever Hand it may be, will punish so much innocent Bloodshed, and the Slaughter of so many Millions of *Indians* so barbarously murdered, and also the numerous Oppressions with which those People have been so miserably harrassed and persecuted by the *Spaniards*.

But there is no Necessity for us to look back to the common Tie between Men, which is certainly a fraternal Band, and which, in some Measure, makes the cruel Oppressions of some particular Persons, to be regarded as the Case of Mankind in general; since their having murdered and robbed our People, is a sufficient Reason for our having undertaken that late Expedition, and has given us just Cause of Reprisals; to pass by, at present, several other Reasons, and not to take into Consideration our own and our Allies Safety for the future, especially those among them of the orthodox Religion; and lastly, to omit several other Causes, which induced us to this Expedition, which having no Mind to particularize; our principal Design being at this Time to demonstrate the Right and Equity of the Thing itself, without descending to all the particular Causes of it. That we may set this in a stronger Light, and explain generals by particulars, it will be necessary to make a Retrospection for a while to the Transactions between the *English* and *Spaniards*, and strictly to examine the State of Affairs between both reciprocally, with Regard to the two Nations, both since the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, and since the Reformation of Religion: which two great Events, as they happened much about the same Time, caused very great Revolutions every where, especially with Regard to the *English* and *Spaniards*, who, from that Period, took a different, and almost quite opposite Method, in the Conduct of their Affairs. For notwithstanding the late King, and his Father, contrary to the Inclination and Sentiments of almost all the *English* in some Manner  
or

or other, patched up two Treaties with the *Spaniards*, yet the different Views and Inclinations of both, arising from the Difference of Religion, and the incessant Disputes in the *West-Indies*, together with the Suspensions the *Spaniards* at first conceived of the *English*, being in fear for their Treasures, not only lately rendered fruitless the Endeavours of this Republick to obtain Peace on fair and equitable Terms, but were, indeed, the principal Reasons for *Philip* the Second's breaking that antient and long inviolated Treaty, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1588, which had subsisted between this Nation, and their Ancestors, as well *Burgundians* as *Castilians*; and making War upon the Queen, with intent to subdue the whole Kingdom, which he attempted in the Year 1588, with his utmost Efforts, while a Treaty of Peace was on the Carpet, which must at this Day be deeply rooted, and not easily crazed out of the Minds of the *English*; and though afterwards there was a Sort of Peace and Commerce in *Europe* (though of such a Nature, as that an *Englishman* never durst exercise his Religion in the *Spanish* Dominions, or have the holy Bible in his House, or even on Ship-board) yet in the *West-Indies*, the *Spaniards* never would, from that Time, admit of either Peace or Trade; notwithstanding that these two Points were expressly agreed upon in the Treaty of *Henry VIII*, King of *England*, with the Emperor *Charles V*, in the Year 1542; in which, Peace and a free Trade were expressly confirmed between both, and the Subjects of both, throughout their respective Dominions, Ports, and Territories, without any Exception of the *West-Indies*, though it was then in that Emperor's Possession.

Nevertheless, as to that Article of maintaining an universal Peace, it is plainly contained in all the Treaties that ever subsisted between the two Nations, nor is there in any Treaty any Exception of any Commerce before that which was made in the Year 1604, with which that last Treaty of the Year 1630, agrees in every Respect. In which two last Treaties it was resolved, that both Nations should have a free Trade in each other's Dominions, in all those Places where there was any Commerce, before the War between *Phillip II*, King of Spain, and *Elizabeth*, Queen of England, pursuant to the Usage and Custom of ancient Treaties and Alliances, made before that Time.

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These are the very Words of those Treaties, which admit of any Doubt; and so King *James* was contented to make Peace with *Spain* at any Rate, when he only renewed the same Treaty of Peace, which had been concluded a little before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, who charged her Plenipotentiaries, when it was in Agitation, among other Things, to insist strenuously on having a free Trade to the *West-Indies*.

But King *James* (who was very desirous of making Peace with the *Spaniards*) was content to leave that Clause so expressed, as that both Parties might put their own Construction upon it; although, if these Words, *Usage and Custom of ancient Treaties and Alliances*, are so to be understood, as it is just they should; according to what in Justice should be done, and not according to what is done, on the Part of the *Spaniards* to their manifest Violation, which has afforded constant Cause of Complaint to the *English*, and Occasion for continual Quarrels between the two Nations; it is plain from those express Words of the ancient Treaties, that the *English* have had a Right of Peace and Commerce throughout the whole Dominions of *Spain*.

Moreover, if the Manner of observing ancient Treaties and Agreements is to be taken from their manifest Violation, the *Spaniards* have some Pretence for interpreting that Clause in the last Treaties, as if it had excepted Commerce in those Places: And yet, for half of the Time that intervened between the aforesaid Treaty of 1542, and the beginning of the War between *Philip II*, and *Elizabeth*, so far as can be understood from the Conduct of Things, it appears that Trade was as much allowed as prohibited in those Places.

But after the *Spaniards* refused any Commerce at all, they and the *English* came from the Exchange of Goods to that of Blows and Wounds, as well before the War begun between *Philip* and *Elizabeth*, as after the Peace made by King *James* in the Year 1604, and another by his Son in 1630, yet so as not to interrupt the Commerce in *Europe*. Nevertheless, the King of *Spain*, after this late Interruption of our Trade, has now, for the first Time, judged that the Contests of those Places are to be extended to *Europe*.

But we neither insist on the Interpretation of Treaties, nor on the Right of Commerce, by Virtue of those Treaties, or for any other Reason, as if on these it were

necessary to found this our Contest with *Spain*, since this is built on the clearest and most evident Reasons, which we will presently make appear. Yet there are some of those, which, though it be not so necessary to found a War upon them, may nevertheless be just Obstacles to establishing a Peace, or at least, to the renewing of an Alliance, in which these Things are not granted, which have been granted in former Pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve for an Answer to that Question, Why, since we have renewed the ancient Treaties we had formerly made with all other Nations, we have not done the same with *Spain*? and 'may serve to convince the World, that in the Articles of Alliance we have not (as is objected) demanded his right Eye, much less both Eyes, if we have refused to be liable, in those Places where Traffick is allowed, to the cruel Inquisition, but have only insisted on having such a Privilege of Trade, as we were not to be excluded from, either by ancient Treaties, or common Right. For tho' the King of *Spain* has assumed to himself to prescribe Laws and Bounds of Commerce to us, by a Law made by the Pope, whereby he forbids all Traffick with *Turks*, *Jews*, and other Infidels; and under the same Pretence, even in Time of Peace, his Ships of War, in other Places besides the *West-Indies*, have taken and plundered our Ships; and tho' by the same Authority of the Pope, and under the Title of his Donation, he claims the *Indians* for his Subjects, as if, forsooth, they likewise were of Right subject to him; they too who are neither in his Power, or his Protection! Yet we neither acknowledge any such Authority in the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, as either to rob them of their Liberty, or us of the Privilege of trading and conversing with them, according to the Laws of Nature and Nations, especially with those, as we have already said, who are neither in the Power or Dominion of the King of *Spain*.

There is another Obstacle very manifest and remarkable against our renewing an Alliance with *Spain*, which is, that there is no certain Safety of the Lives of any of our Ambassadors and publick Ministers, who are sent into the *Spanish* Dominions, either on the Score of Friendship, or of any other Business between the two Common-Wealths, where the King is tied down to such Opinions, as hinder him from providing for their Safety against Murderers, so as that they may not always be in Danger of their

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Lives: Whose Privileges, in order to preserve Friendship between Princes and Common-Wealths, have, by the Law of Nations, been always esteemed inviolable, and much more sacred than those Altars of Refuge, whose Privileges (founded upon the Authority of the Pops, and the Church of *Rome*) have been hitherto applied to elude the Force of Laws and Justice, which we demanded to be put in Execution against the Murderers of Mr *Anthony Ascham*, who was sent into *Spain* by this Republick, to procure and establish Friendship between the two Nations. For which barbarous Murder, no Satisfaction was ever made, nor Punishment inflicted on the Authors of it; nor could such be obtained, though demanded by the Parliament, and in their Name very often and vehemently urged by the Council of State. Which truly has been hitherto one continued, and very just Obstacle, to the renewing of an Alliance betwixt both Nations; and certainly, (according to what other Nations have acted in such Cases) it may be deemed a just Cause of War.

But as to the Disputes in the *West-Indies*, though we have Plantations as well as they, both in the Continent itself, and in the Islands, and have as good, yea, a better Right to possess them, than the *Spaniards* have to possess theirs; and though we have a Right equally as good as theirs, to trade in those Seas, yet, without any Reason, or any Damage sustained, (and without the least Controversy about Commerce) they have perpetually invaded our Colonies in an hostile Manner, have killed our People, taken our Ships, robbed us of our Goods, laid waste our Houses and Fields, taken away our People in Captivity and Slavery; and have not desisted from doing these Things, to the very Time wherein we have undertaken this late Expedition against them.

For which Reason, contrary to what has usually been done heretofore in like Cases, they have detained our Ships and Merchants, and confiscated their Goods, almost every where throughout the *Spanish* Dominions; so that, whether we turn our Eyes towards *America* or *Europe*, they alone are to be esteemed the Authors of the War, and the Cause of all the Blood-shed and Inconveniencies, which may possibly attend it.

There are a great many inhuman and cruel Examples of the constant barbarous Treatment of the *English* by the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, as well in the Time of Peace, as from the Year 1604, when the Peace was

patched up by King *James*, till the War broke out again, and from the last Peace in 1630, to this very Day: We shall think it sufficient to mention but a few of them.

After Peace being concluded in the Year 1605, the Ship *Mary, Ambrose Birch*, Master, was trading on the North Coast of *Hispaniola*, in the *West-Indies*. The Master being enticed by one Father *John* (for so he was called) and six of his Companions, with Promises of a safe and free Commerce, to go Ashore to view some Merchandize, and twelve *Spaniards* having, in the mean while, gone aboard the Ship to see the *English* Goods; while the *English*, suspecting no Fraud, were shewing them their Wares, by a Signal given by the Priest from the Shore, every one of the *Spaniards* drew his Dagger, and stabbed all the *English* that were in the Ship, excepting only two, who leaped into the Sea; the rest Ashore, were put to Death with exquisite Cruelty: The Master himself being stripped naked, and bound to a Tree, was exposed to the biting of the Flies, where having continued for the Space of twenty Hours, a Negro, hearing his Groans, drew near; and as he was on the Point of expiring, stabb'd him with his Spear. This Ship and Cargo was valued at 5400 £.

In the same Year, another Ship called the *Archer*, was taken at *St Domingo*, and all the Sailors killed. This Ship was estimated at 1300 £.

Another Ship called the *Friendship of London*, with her Loading, was taken by *Lodowick Fajard*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, all her Goods confiscated, and the Merchants and Mariners thrown into the Sea, except one Boy, who was reserved for a Slave. This Ship with her Loading was valued at 1500 £.

When the Sailors went Ashore out of another Ship, called the *Scorn*, confiding in the Oaths of the *Spaniards* of their being safe, they were nevertheless all bound to Trees and strangled; and the Ship with her Goods was seized, by which the Merchants lost 1500 £.

The *Spanish* Privateers took another Ship called the *Neptune*, at *Tortuga*, in the Year 1606, valued at 4300 £.

Another Ship called the *Lark*, was taken the same Year by *Lodowick Fajard*, and confiscated with all her Loading, which was worth 4570 £.

Another Ship called the *Castor and Pollux*, was taken at *Florida* by the *Spaniards*, and confiscated, and the Sailors

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either all killed or made Slaves, for they were never heard of afterwards. This Ship with her Cargo was valued at 15000 £.

A Ship from *Plymouth*, called the *Richard*, commanded by *Henry Challins*, was fitted out in the Year 1608, at the Expence of Lord *Popham*, Lord Chief-Justice of *England*, Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, Knt, and others, to go to *Virginia*; and happening to be drove by Strefs of Weather upon the Southern Part of the *Canary Islands*, she in her Way from thence to the Coast of *Virginia* accidentally fell in with eleven *Spanish* Ships in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, on their Return from *St Domingo*, who seized her, confiscated all her Cargo, and after using the Master very barbarously, sent him to the Gallies, though he at first produced a Royal Passport in order to extricate himself from them. The Damage here sustained was above 2500 £.

In like Manner a Ship called the *Aid* was treated by *Lodwick Fajard*, who took her under Pretence of Friendship. This likewise, with her Cargo, was confiscated, and all the Sailors were sent to the Gallies, where some of them were bastinado'd to Death for refusing to ply at the Oars; which Ship and Loading was, by the *Spaniards* own Computation, valued at 7000 £.

Another Ship, called the *Gallant Anne*, commanded by *William Curry*, was in the same Year trading at *Hispaniola*; and in like Manner, with her Cargo, was confiscated, all the Sailors hanged, and a Piece of Paper, by Way of Ridicule, sewed to their Coats, with this Inscription, *Why did ye come hither?* This Ship with her Loading was valued at 8000 £.

These Instances sufficiently demonstrate to us, what Sort of Peace the *Spaniards* have maintained with us in King *James's* Time, who was always very careful, or rather fearful, of breaking the Peace with them. And we may also plainly perceive a Continuation of the same Acts of Hostility and cruel Treatment from them, ever since the last Peace, (which was made in the Year 1630) to this very Day.

To this End, we shall say something of those Colonies which were planted by some Noblemen of this Nation, in the Island of *Catelina*, which they call the Island of *Providence*, and the Island of *Tortuga*, by them called the Island of *Association*. About the Year 1629, when these Islands were desolate, having neither People nor Cattle in them,

them, and a War being then between the *English* and *Spaniards*, the former took Possession of those Islands. When Peace was concluded in the Year following between the two Nations, the *Spaniards* having made no Reservation of those Islands, King *Charles*, in a Charter under the great Seal of *England*, declared himself Master of the Island of *Providence*, and some other adjacent Islands, as it seemed not inconsistent with the Peace; and granted them to certain Noblemen and their Heirs, and, in the following Year, extended this Grant to the Island of *Tortuga*.

And though the above-mentioned Planters had possessed themselves of those Islands by Virtue of the King's Grant; and though this Grant was founded upon good Right, first, on the Law of Nature, because neither the *Spaniards*, nor any other People whatever, were possessed of those Places before the *English*; next, on the Right of War, since they were taken Possession of in Time of War, and no Way excepted in the Articles of Peace; therefore it follows, from the second Article in the last Treaty, that the Title of the *Spaniards* to these Islands (even supposing they had had one) was extinguished by their own Consent. And though neither the aforesaid Company of Planters, nor any one of them, by any Action of theirs, had given any just Cause of Offence, either to the King of *Spain*, or to any of his Subjects, until they had first violently attacked our Ships, invaded our Colonies, killed several of the *English*, and set Fire to their Houses; yet the *Spaniards* being fully resolved to break the Peace in these Places, about the twenty-second of *January* 1632, without any the least Provocation, betwixt the Island of *Tortuga*, and the Cape of *Florida*, in a hostile Manner attacked a certain Ship, belonging to the Company, called the *Sea-Flower*, on her Return from the Island of *Providence*, in which Engagement some of the Men on Board that Ship were killed, and others wounded.

The Island of *Tortuga* was after this, about the Year 1634, attacked by four Ships belonging to the *Spaniards*, without any Injury done on the Part of the *English*, in which attack upwards of sixty were slain, a great many wounded and taken Prisoners, their Houses burnt down, and quite destroyed, their most valuable Effects taken away by the *Spaniards*, and the *English* almost wholly drove out of the Island: of whom, some were hanged, others carried to the *Havanna*, and detained in the most abject Slavery. One *Grymes*, who had been a Gunner in

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*Tortuga*, was distinguished from the rest by a Death remarkably cruel. Some of them, flying for Refuge to a certain desert Island called *Santa Cruz*, were again set upon by the *Spaniards*, who pursued them thither with three Gallies, in the Month of *March* 1636, forty of whom were killed, and the rest taken Prisoners, and used in a most barbarous Manner.

In the Year 1635, *July* 24, the *Spaniards*, with two great Ships and one Galley, made likewise an attack on the Isle of *Providence*, and fought for several Hours, but were repulsed, and forced to desist from their Enterprize. However, they attempted the same Thing a second Time, about the Year 1640, with twelve Ships, some large, and some of a lesser Size, whereof the Admiral's Ship was called the *Armadillo of Cartagena*, one of the greater Gallies of the Royal Plate-Fleet; and having sent a great Number of Soldiers on Shore, they were confident of making themselves Masters of the whole Island; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of Damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless, having equipped another Fleet, they returned a little after, when the Planters, at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their Thoughts about what Method they should take to defend themselves, as about the Terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender; which Terms, upon their giving up the Island, they found no Difficulty to obtain. But the Island was by this Means wrested out of the Hands both of the Planters and Common-Wealth, of whom the former sustained the Loss of more than 80000 £. and the latter, besides the Loss of the Island, hereby received a very open and publick Affront. After the *Spaniards* thus became Masters of the Island of *Providence*, a Ship bringing some Passengers, who wanted to transport themselves from *New England* to this Place, was, by Stratagem of the *Spaniards*, brought within Gun-shot, the People in the Ship being ignorant of their late Conquest of the Island, she narrowly escaped being taken, and with great Difficulty got off; but the Master of the Vessel, an honest worthy Man, was killed by a Bullet-shot from the Island. Nor were the *Spaniards* content to confine the Acts of Hostility which they have exercised upon the People of that Colony, within the Boundaries of *America*, but have also treated them in the same hostile Manner in *Europe*.

For in the Year 1638, *December* 25, a Ship commanded by *Thomas Newman*, called the *Providence*, belonging to the

the same Company, was attacked and taken by one *Sprengfeld*, a Captain of a Privateer belonging to *Dunkirk*, two Leagues from *Dengenese*, on the Coast of *England*, and was carried into that Port, and there detained with her Cargo, which was computed by several Persons there to be worth 30000 £. As for the Sailors, some were killed, some wounded, and the rest, after being inhumanly treated in their own Ship, were hurried to *Dunkirk* likewise, where they met with the like Treatment, till they found Means of escaping thence; and tho' the Owners demanded Satisfaction in the most pressing Manner, and the last King asked Reparation in their Behalf by his Resident Mr *Balthasar Gerber*, and by Letters wrote with his own Hand, and that of Secretary *Coke*; yet neither the Restitution of their Goods, nor any Compensation for these Losses, could ever be obtained.

But there are other Examples of the *Spanish* Cruelty, still more shocking, and of a later Date; such as their coming from *Porto-Rico*, about the Year 1651, and attacking the Island of *Santa Cruz*, which was formerly uninhabited, but at that Time possessed by an *English* Colony, governed by *Nicholas Phillips*, who, with about a hundred more of the Colony, was barbarously murdered by the *Spaniards*; who, besides this, attacked the Ships in the Harbour, plundered their Houses, and razed them to the Ground: and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their Fury, (the rest of the Inhabitants having fled to the Woods) returning to *Porto-Rico*, they gave the miserable Remnant, who were well nigh famished, Time to remove from *Santa Cruz*, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring Islands. But a little Time after, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who sculked in the Woods, but they had the good Fortune to find a Way of making their Escape, and stealing away privately to other Islands.

A Ship belonging to *John Turner*, in the same Year 1631, being driven into the Harbour of *Cumanagota* by tempestuous Winds, was seized by the Governor of that Place, and confiscated with all her Loading.

The same was done to Captain *Cranley's* Ship, and her Goods.

And a certain Vessel, belonging to *Samuel Wilson*, in the Year 1650, loaden with Horses, was taken on the High-Seas, in her Way to *Barbadoes*, and carried to the *Havanna*. Both the Ship and her Goods were confiscated,

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most of the Sailors imprisoned, and, like Slaves, obliged to work at the Fortifications.

About two Years since the same Hardships were endured by the Sailors aboard a certain Ship of *Barnstable*, which, in her return from some of our Plantations in the *Caribbee-Islands*, springing a Leak hard by *Hispaniola*, the Sailors, to save themselves, being obliged to get into the Long-Boat, got ashore, where they were all made Slaves, and obliged to work at the Fortifications.

By these, and many more Examples of the same Kind, too long to be reckoned up, it is abundantly evident, the King of *Spain* and his Subjects, think they are no Way bound, by any Condition of Peace to be performed to us on their Part in these Places, since they have habitually exercised all Sorts of Hostilities against us, nay, even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous than open Acts of Hostility; since that Cruelty, with which they usually treat the *English* in *America*, is so contrary to the Articles of Peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the Laws of the most bloody War: However, in that Embargo of the King of *Spain*, by which he orders our Merchant-Ships and their Goods to be seized and confiscated, the whole Blame is laid upon the *English*, whom he brands with the odious Names of Treaty-Breakers, and Violaters of the most sacred Peace, and likewise of free Commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintained on his Part; and gives out that we have violated the Laws of Peace and Commerce, with such strange and professed Hostility, that we attempted to besiege the Town of *St Domingo*, in the Isle of *Hispaniola*: Which is the only Cause he offers, why the Goods of the *English* are confiscated in *Spain*, and the trading People confined; though this is likewise aggravated by his boasting Humanity; for he maintains that he, in the most friendly Way, received our Fleets into his Harbours, where it could be of any Advantage for them to enter, and that his Ministers did not at all require of us a strict Observance of the Articles of Peace, that were agreed to by the two Crowns, which forbid both Parties to enter a Harbour with more than six or eight Ships of War.

But as our Fleets, by his talking in this Strain, are acquitted of all Trespasses and Violations of Treaty in these Harbours, since if any such thing as is objected, has been done, and passed over, it has been done by the Allowance of himself, and his Ministers; and as it is exceeding ma-

nifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast Profits he has received from our Fleets; so, on the other hand, that King and his Ministers have not at all, in fact, observed the Agreements he speaks of, in the 23d Article, of which the following Provision is made in the most express Terms. " That if any Differences shall happen to arise betwixt " the two Common-Wealths, the Subjects on both Sides " should be advertised, that they should have six Months " from the Time of the Advertisement, to transport their " Effects, during which Time there should be no Arrest, " interrupting or damaging of any Man's Person or " Goods." In which Affair that King truly has shown but very little Regard to those Contracts, which he charges us with having broken, as appears from the late Confiscation of our Goods. But what he declares in that Edict concerning the Acts of Hostility committed in the *West-Indies*, their being to be considered as a Violation of Peace and free Commerce in these Parts, is a new and quite different Explanation from what has ever been propounded hitherto by either of the two Republicks, though both Parties have frequently had Occasions to declare their Judgment about this Matter.

Since therefore the King of *Spain*, both by Word and Deed, has declared, that the Articles of Peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many Acts of Hostility committed against the *English* in these Parts, and which first began on his Side, and have been continued from the very Time of the last concluded Treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very Day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that the sacred Bonds of Friendship have been first broken on his Side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our Adversaries themselves, in this Controversy, are ashamed to deny the Fact, and chuse rather to dispute with us concerning the Right of Possession; which must be in the following Manner: As the King of *Spain*, among his other Titles, has assumed that of King of the *Indies*, so they affirm, that the whole *Indies*, and *Indian-Sea*, both North and South, belong to him; and that they are all Enemies and Pyrates, who approach these Places without his Commission. Which, if it were true, both we and all other Nations ought to leave and restore to him all our Possessions there; and having brought back whatever Colonies we have sent thither, should beg his Pardon for the Injury we have done

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him: But if we consider a little more narrowly the Truth and Reasonableness of this Title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak Foundation, to have such a vast Pile of War and Contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to have a double Title, one founded upon the Pope's Gift, and another upon their having first discovered those Places. As to the first, we know the Pope has always been very liberal in his Gifts of Kingdoms and Countries, but, in the mean Time, we can't but think, that in so doing he acts in a very different Manner from him, whose Vicar he professes himself; who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a Judge in the dividing of Inheritances, far less give away one whole Kingdom at his Pleasure, like the Pope, who has thought fit to make a Present of *England*, *Ireland*, and some other Kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such Authority, nor do we think there is any Nation so void of Understanding, as to think that so great Power is lodged in him, or that the *Spaniards* would believe, or acquiesce in it, if he should require them to yield up as much as he has bestowed. But if the *French* and others, who acknowledge the Pope's Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters, have no Regard to this Title of the *Spaniards*, it can't be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we leave this Point, as not deserving a fuller Answer.

Nor is the other Title of any greater Weight, as if the *Spaniards*, in Consequence of their having first discovered some few Parts of *America*, and given Names to some Islands, Rivers, and Promontories, had, for this Reason, lawfully acquired the Government and Dominion of that new World. But such an imaginary Title founded on such a silly Pretence, without being in Possession, can't possibly create any true and lawful Right. The best Right of Possession in *America*, is that which is founded on one's having planted Colonies there, and settled in such Places as had either no Inhabitants, or by the Consent of the Inhabitants, if there were any; or, at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated Places of their Country, which they were not numerous enough to replenish and improve, since God has created this Earth for the Use of Men, and ordered them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the *Spaniards* will be found to hold their Possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the Will of the Inhabitants, and, as it

were, plucked them out of their very Bowels, having laid the Foundations of their Empire in that Place, in the Blood of the poor Natives, and rendered several large Islands and Countries, that were in a tolerable Case when they found them, so many barren Desarts, and rooted out all the Inhabitants there: So the *English* hold their Possessions there by the best Right imaginable, especially those Islands where the *Spaniards* have fallen upon their Colonies, and quite demolished them; which Islands had no other Inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the *Spaniards*, who had likewise deserted these Places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: So that by the Law of Nature and Nations, they belong to any who think fit to take Possession of them, according to that common and well known Maxim in Law; "Such things as belong to none, and such as are abandoned by their former Possessors, become his Property who first seizes them." Although granting we had beat the *Spaniards* out of those Places where we have planted our Colonies, out of which they had at first expelled the Inhabitants, we should have possessed them with better Right, as the Avengers of the Murder of that People, and of the Injuries sustained by them, than the *Spaniards*, their Oppressors and Murderers. But since we have settled our Colonies in such Places as were neither possessed by the Natives, nor the *Spaniards*, they having left behind them neither Houses nor Cattle, nor any other thing that could by any Means keep up the Right of Possession, the Justness of our Title to these Places was so much the more evident, and the Injuries done us by the *Spaniards* so much the more manifest, especially our Right to those Places that were seized while the two Nations were at War with each other; such as the Isles of *Providence* and *Tortuga*, which if the *Spaniards* could have shewn to be theirs, by any former Title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last Treaty of Peace, by the second Article of this Treaty they have, for the future, cut themselves off from all such Pretence; and if they had any Right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this Argument.

There is no intelligent Person but will easily see how empty and weak those Reasons are, that the *Spaniard* has for claiming to himself alone an Empire of such a vast and prodigious Extent. But we have said this much in order to shew the Weakness of those Pretences, whereby the *Spaniards* endeavour

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endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much Cruelty and Barbarity in the *West-Indies*, for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured, and put to Death our Countrymen, robbed them of their Ships and Goods, and demolished our Colonies even in the Time of profound Peace, and that without any Injury on their Part; which cruel Usage and Havock, made among our People, and such as were of the same Orthodox Faith with them, as oft as the *English* call to Remembrance, they can't miss to think that their former Glory is quite gone, and their Ships of War become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful Manner: And moreover, to be not only excluded from all free Commerce in so great and opulent a Part of the World, but likewise to be looked upon as Pyrates and Robbers, and punished in the same Manner as they, if they presume to sail to those Seas, or so much as look that Way; or, in fine, have any Intercourse or Dealing even with our own Colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody *Spanish* Inquisition, we shall say nothing, this being a Controversy common to all Protestants; nor shall we speak of the many Seminaries of *English* Priests and Jesuits nestling under the Protection of the *Spaniards*, which is a perpetual Cause of Stumbling, and very great Danger to this Common-Wealth; since what we principally propose is, to shew the Grounds and Reasons of the Controversies in the *West-Indies*; and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that Necessity, Honour, and Justice, have prompted us to undertake this late Expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by Necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to War with the *Spaniards*, since they will not allow us to be at Peace with them: And then Honour and Justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such insufferable Injuries to be done to our Countrymen, as those we have shown to have been done them in the *West-Indies*.

And truly they see but a very little Way, who from their Notion of the Designs and Intentions of the *Spaniards*, according to that friendly Aspect with which the present Declension of their Affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these Parts of the World, (that Face which they have put on being only a false one) for it is certain they have the same Mind, and the very same Desires, which they had in the Year 1588, when they endeavoured  
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to subdue this whole Island; nay, it is certain their Hatred is more inflamed, and their Jealousies and Suspicions more increased by this Change of the State of our Affairs, and of the Form of our Republick. But if we omit this Opportunity, which, by Reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an Occasion to fall upon some Way, whereby, through the Assistance of God, we may provide for our Safety, against this old and implacable Enemy of our Religion and Country; it may happen, he will recover such a Degree of Strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will, and can't but have the greatest Indignation against us. Mean while, if we suffer such grievous Injuries to be done our Countrymen in the *West-Indies*, without any Satisfaction or Revenge; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate Enemy, (especially now, after he has made Peace with the *Dutch*) to carry off, without Molestation, from the *West-Indies*, those prodigious Treasures, whereby he may repair his present Damages, and again bring his Affair to such a prosperous and happy Condition, as to deliberate with himself a second Time, what he was thinking upon in the Year 1588, namely, Whether it would be more advisable to begin with subduing *England*, in order to recover the United-Provinces, or with them in order to reduce *England* under his Subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more Causes why he should begin with *England*. And if God should, at any Time, permit those Intentions of his to have their desired Effect, we have good Ground to expect, that the Residue of that cruel Havock he made among our Brethren, at the Foot of the *Alps*, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all Protestants; which, if we may give Credit to the Complaints that were made by those poor Orthodox Christians, was first designed and contrived in the Court of *Spain*, by those Friars whom they call Missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the Time will come, when all, but especially true *Englishmen*, will lay aside their private Animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper Advantages, than through an excessive Desire of that small Profit to be made by trading to *Spain*, which cannot be obtained but upon such Conditions as are dishonourable, and, in some Sort, unlawful; and which may likewise be got some other Way, than exposing, as they now do, to the utmost Danger, the Souls

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of many young Traders, by those Terms upon which they now live and trade there; and suffer the Lives and Fortunes of many Christian Brethren in *America*, and, in fine, the Honour of this whole Nation, to be exposed; and what of all is the most momentous and important, let slip out of their Hands the most noble Opportunities of promoting the Glory of God, and enlarging the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom: Which we do not doubt, will appear to be the chief End of our late Expedition into the *West-Indies* against the *Spaniards*, to all who are free of those Prejudices which hinder People from clearly discerning the Truth.

Thus it is evident, what a deep Root Revenge and Cruelty have taken in the *Spanish* Nation against that of the *English*, for so great a Number of Years past, as that they are now become almost irreconcilable, and that from the Cause beforementioned; which may notwithstanding be happily adjusted, could such a thing as a disinterested Mediator be found in the World. In the mean while, as each Side thinks their Honour wounded, so they are far from making any Advances that Way from themselves, though it may be remembered how strictly the two Nations were united against *France* before the Peace of *Ryswick*; but as Interests shift, so does Friendship, and in this Age, the latter seems more entirely dependent on the former than ever.

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From what has been here set forth, respecting the bad Actions of some People in former Ages, it ought not to be understood in the present, as a Reflection on every *Spaniard* in the World; notwithstanding that the Nature of the Subject seems, at first view, to fix it upon the Nation in general, because there are undoubtedly a great many *Spaniards* who have an Abhorrence of the Mal-Practices in those Times, which (without Distinction) have rendered the whole of that Undertaking obnoxious to the rest of the World; but, on the other hand, when *Spain*, conscious of this her bad Title, pretends to claim an unwarrantable Dominion and Sovereignty over all the Seas and Lands of *America*; a Dominion which she can't undertake to support against the small Island of *Britain* alone, compared with her vast Tracts of Land, without craving the Assistance of her Neighbours; she must expect to be reminded of the Nature of her Acquisitions, and to have the Sins of

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the Fathers exposed to the Children from one Generation to another, until her Pride and Pretensions be abated. As in the mean Time, the Proofs of that Nation's implacable Animosity against *Great-Britain* are but too obvious to the World; and that, as she daily gathers Strength, she behaves with so much the greater Insolence and Ingratitude, (*like the Snake to the compassionate Husband-man*) far from seeming to retain any Sense of the many signal Favours and Honours so very lately done to her, and the King of the two *Sicilies*, &c. It therefore behoves *Great-Britain* always to have a watchful Eye on her Motions; and from the fallacious Appearances of Friendship which have been heretofore made Use of by the Court of *Spain*, to cover the blackest Designs that could be framed for the utter Extirpation of the *English*, never to rely upon any Treaty or Convention, but such as from the Nature of the thing itself, will be the manifest Interest of *Spain* to abide by; and that the Guarantee for the just Observation of such Treaty be such, as in itself will be capable of answering the Ends of such Security, without depending on so precarious a one as that of any of her Neighbours who seem, at present, to be too nearly linked with her in Views diametrically opposite to the Interest of *Great-Britain*.

Till this be accomplished, it is in vain for us to hope for any Satisfaction or Security from the *Spaniards*, but such as shall be obtained through a Revival of that renowned Valour and Resolution, by which our original Rights and Possessions were at first established in *America* by our heroical Ancestors.

F I N I S